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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 30



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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SOVIET ALLEGATION OF CHINESE FIFTH COLUMN IN VIETNAM REFUTED

Beijing LISHI YANJIU /HISTORICAL RESEARCH/ in Chinese No 6, 15 Jun 79 pp 57-69

/Article by Qin Qinzhi /4440 2953 1492/: "Contribution by Overseas Chinese to Vietnam's Economic and Cultural Growth"/

/Excerpts/ In recent years, the Soviet leading clique has collaborated with the Vietnamese authorities in the despicable act of whipping up an upsurge of opposing and hating China and in carrying out large-scale expulsion of overseas Chinese. Adding fuel to the flame, it has concocted all sorts of lies to deceive the public and babbled that the overseas Chinese served as China's "Fifth Column" specially engaged in "subversive activities"; that overseas Chinese have been all along the "active accomplices" and "hatchetmen" for China to "realize its chauvinist ambitions"; and so forth. In villifying and slandering the overseas Chinese, the Soviet leading clique is only planning to inflame national hatred, to encourage the Vietnamese authorities to pursue their policy of opposing and hating China, and to stir up trouble between China and those countries--where there are overseas Chinese residents--in the hope that somebody will pull the chestnuts out of the fire for it to pursue its own hegemonism.

Since both the Vietnamese authorities and the Soviet leading clique are using the overseas Chinese question as a "trump card" for opposing and hating China, we find it necessary to present to the world a concise review of the achievements of overseas Chinese in Vietnam so that the public will see the real picture.

1--Contributions by Overseas Chinese to Vietnam's Economic Development

From the middle of the 10th to the 19th century, before Vietnam became a French colony, overseas Chinese were rapidly increasing. This was the period for the overseas Chinese to contribute to the Vietnamese economic development. Their great contributions were made in two different ways: First, while promoting Vietnamese agricultural economy, they helped the Vietnamese people develop handicraft. Secondly, they effectively helped the development of the southern regions in Vietnam.

The separation of Vietnamese handicraft from agriculture to become an independent department of production took place in the modern age. Before then, handicraft was always part of agriculture or a household sideline occupation. However, the overseas Chinese handicraft workers in Vietnam took handicraft specially as industrial production. While catering to Vietnamese social needs with their handicraft products, these overseas Chinese also taught the Vietnamese people the techniques of industrial production, thus giving a strong impetus to the development of Vietnamese handicraft.

The period from late 19th century, when Vietnam became a French colony, to the time of its national independence was an important historical period during which China itself also became a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society following the Opium War in 1940. Because of aggression from abroad and disorder at home brought about by civil wars and frequent floods and droughts, people could hardly survive a severe economic bankruptcy. Therefore, part of the unemployed flocked into Vietnam on an unprecedented scale. These people and the earlier overseas Chinese were distributed in various economic spheres of the local community. They shared every weal and woe with the Vietnamese people and contributed a great deal to the economic development of Vietnam.

During this historical period, commercial trading was the principal means used by the overseas Chinese to serve Vietnamese economy. Their commercial activities not only maintained and regulated the balance between Vietnamese social production and marketing, but also guaranteed the supply of daily necessities for Vietnamese people in the urban and rural areas. According to statistics, more than 80 percent of retail businesses in Vietnam before the war were run by overseas Chinese.

Overseas Chinese can also be called the pioneers of Vietnamese mining industry, which was later developed jointly by the overseas Chinese and the Vietnamese people. The General Inspection Organ of Mining and Industry of French Indochina pointed out: "From time immemorial, the local inhabitants, especially the Chinese, had developed coal and other mines in Indochina... Their achievement in the past are still precious data for the prospectors today... In Indochina, most of the famous zinc, lead, and tin mines were explored and developed by Chinese people, according to history." During the 18th century in Vietnam, "'Qing' people were recruited to 'excavate' most of the gold, silver, copper and tin mines in various areas." "When there was a boom in mining, the local officials mostly recruited 'Qing people' for the extraction. Thus tens of thousands of them were employed in one factory. These miners live together in a compact community, and the majority of them were from Chaozhou and Shaozhou."

During the age of imperialism, industry in colonies or semi-colonies could not be fully developed. Therefore, "the overwhelming majority of enterprises were operated by overseas Chinese on small scales." "The most common enterprises were run as 'family' factories." "The exploitation of hired labor was almost nonexistent. On the contrary, these enterprises were themselves

victims of exploitation by foreign capital, the big Chinese bourgeoisie and the usurers." Another prominent part of overseas Chinese industry is their processing of agricultural and sideline products. In other words, they took over an important sector of Vietnamese economy in serving the agricultural economy. In the rice-milling industry during the 1930's, for example, the mills in Saigon and Cholon were almost entirely operated by overseas Chinese. Even after the war, 50 percent of all these mills in Saigon and Cholon were almost entirely operated by overseas Chinese. These mills "processed rice not only for consumption in Cochinchina but also for export from Saigon to Cambodia."

Besides rice as the main item for agricultural processing, the overseas Chinese also carried on industrial processing for cotton, timber, sugarcane, silk, tea, leather, food condiments and porcelain, besides brewery. Although the majority of these items were undertaken by families or as part of the handicraft industry, they could generally meet most of Vietnam's social wants because of the people's low standard of living and the low market demand. In the case of porcelain, for instance, there were 18 million rice bowls with white bottoms and orchid designs produced only in Mon Cai in 1929 by the overseas Chinese. According to the Vietnamese population then, there should be about one of these bowls for each person throughout Vietnam.

Contributions by the overseas Chinese to communications and transportation in Vietnam also formed an important page of history. Most of the building of roads and dredging of rivers in Vietnam...were accomplished with the blood and sweat of the Chinese nationals." "The railway from Kunming in Yunnan Province to Haiphong in Vietnam was built and maintained by 18,000 Chinese people." In the Mekong Delta, the overseas Chinese, way back in 1866, cut the Tacchang [7118 0617] and Hefu [0735 1788] Canals which connected the Mekong, the Woi Co and the Nai Rivers and formed a flourishing navigation network which not only serves the purpose of drainage in rainy seasons but also turns Saigon and Cholon into large rice producing and trading centers.

Later, the overseas Chinese "brought their traditional method of intensive and meticulous farming to Indochina." "They were good farmers and built a very practical irrigation network." They were also the main producers of vegetables, pepper, rubber and other economic crops, besides sharing a large part of fishery.

After the liberation of North Vietnam, the broad masses of overseas Chinese were even more active in undertaking the national economic construction of Vietnam and made due contribution to Vietnamese national independence and prosperity.

In Hon Gay Mining Area, the biggest industrial area of Vietnam, there were more than 22,000 overseas Chinese. During the restoration of the national economy, these overseas Chinese joined the Vietnamese people in working selflessly, and "within a very short period, healed the wounds of war and gave a new appearance to the old coal mines, the wasted farmland, the

barren hills and the desolate sea." In Haiphong city, almost all the factories, enterprises and cooperatives where overseas Chinese were concentrated, fulfilled or over-fulfilled state plans for several years. The largest plant of Haiphong's local industry, the "August 19" Machinery Plant, was also the plant with the largest concentration of overseas Chinese. In 1961, 60 overseas Chinese workers in this plant were evaluated as advanced producers. This number was further increased to 75 in 1962. In these 2 years, the overseas Chinese workers put forward more than 200 rational propositions.

On the agricultural front, in the first half of 1963, "90 percent of the Chinese peasants had joined the agricultural production cooperatives and had become one of the important advanced forces in the rural regions of the north."

The economic achievements of the broad masses of overseas Chinese were commended even by some Vietnamese leaders at that time. However, the Soviet slander that overseas Chinese belonged to the so-called "Fifth Column" is entirely out of ulterior motives and is an attempt to create public opinion for the Vietnamese authorities' anti-China activities, or to help the Vietnamese authorities slap their own faces.

2--Contribution by Overseas Chinese to Vietnamese Cultural Development

Chairman Ho Chi Minh in his lifetime pointed out: China and Vietnam "have a blood relationship and a common culture. They have always been called fraternal countries in history." How was this common cultural relationship formed? According to history, the credit should first go to the early immigrants and the later overseas Chinese who contributed to Vietnamese cultural development.

Among the early important contributions to the cultural development of "Vietnam" by the early immigrants to "Vietnam" were the opening of schools, promotion of education, and the establishment of institutions of cultural relics which gradually ushered ancient "Vietnam" into a civilized human society.

During the 2,000 years of Latinization of Vietnamese words, the Chinese characters were used throughout Vietnam. China-Vietnam historical documents written in Chinese characters have been all along the main data for the study of Vietnamese history, and the Chinese characters were disseminated by the immigrants from Central China during the Western Han Dynasty. The "Biography of Xue Zong [5641 4844] in the Wu Section of the History of the Three Kingdoms" said: "Emperor Wu of Han killed Lu Jia...and moved the Chinese criminals to live among them and to help them learn to write and gain a little knowledge of our language." This shows that during the reign of Emperor Wu of Han, the "Chinese criminals" who "stayed among the local people"--the scholar officials and people of Central China who had violated the feudal codes of punishment--began to teach the local people "how to write" and to learn to read Chinese characters.

During the war of resistance against French and U.S. aggressions, hundreds or thousands of overseas Chinese artists carried on their struggles in the broad urban and rural areas for Vietnamese national independence and liberation. They used both Vietnamese and Chinese to write many ideological and artistic works, such as poems and songs, articles, novels, newsletters and so forth.

During the difficult days of resistance against French and U.S. aggressions, the broad masses of overseas Chinese shared every weal and woe with the Vietnamese people. With songs, dancing and drama as their weapons, they inspired the people's fighting will and attacked the enemy. For example, in July 1963, when the Vietnamese Government issued the call to "struggle against the U.S. and Ngo Dinh Diem clique," the overseas Chinese promptly rose in response, and workers, teachers, students, store clerks, actors, doctors, and even housewives quickly took part in the struggle. According to investigations, in the city of Haiphong alone, the overseas Chinese within a short time organized people to put up many cartoons and propaganda pictures and at the same time staged many militant performances of ballets and plays to praise the just struggle of the Vietnamese people and to expose the crimes of the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique. Among these performances were the Cantonese drama "Don't Be Arrogant Again," and the folk song and dance "Paper Tiger" which were quite successful as means of propaganda and met with favorable responses among the audience in Haiphong.

Besides, the earlier immigrants and the later overseas Chinese all made contributions to the study of history and the development of medicine and sanitation, construction techniques, painting and carving, and other folk arts which are even now praised by the Vietnamese people.

3--Contributions by Overseas Chinese to the National Independence and the People's War of Liberation in Vietnam

In the middle of the 19th century, the French colonialists began their armed aggressions against China and Vietnam. In 1881, the French troops occupied Bien Hoa Province of Vietnam. In 1862, the Nguyen Dynasty was defeated and sued for peace. The "Chaigun /2693 2760/ (Saigon) Treaty" was signed whereby France annexed Bien Hoa, Gia Kinh and Tuong Dinh Provinces and Con Son Island. After the French colonialists gained a foothold in the south, An Ye /1344 6777/ (Francis Garnier) and his French troops marched northward in 1873 and occupied Hanoi. At that time, there was a peasants' uprising in Guangxi of China. The "Black Banner Troops" led by Liu Yongfu /0491 3057 4395/ were hard pressed by the Qing army and had to move into Baosheng (now Lao Cai) of Vietnam. In November 1873, in response to the request of the Annam government, Liu Yongfu joined forces with the Annam troops in a concerted attack on Hanoi. The Black Banner Troops were brave and good fighters and killed An Ye in a single engagement. The Chinese and the Vietnamese thus scored a great victory in the first battle against the French aggressors and greatly deflated the arrogance of the French colonialists. The beginning of the joint resistance against French aggression was marked with a signal victory. However, the Annam ruler, stupid and effete, was only

concerned with temporary comfort. Despite the favorable military situation, he signed the "French-Vietnamese Treaty of Peaceful Alliance" with French imperialism and was willing to be a puppet of the French colonialists. Thus the Vietnamese rulers pushed both the Vietnamese people and the broad masses of overseas Chinese into the abyss of misery from class and national oppression.

However, instead of being submissive, the Vietnamese people and the overseas Chinese continued to struggle, and fought shoulder to shoulder. In 1975, the Vietnamese patriot Nguyen Huu Huan of Binh Thuan Province, with the strong support of the overseas Chinese, organized an insurrectionary force comprising both Vietnamese and Chinese people, and heroically attacked the French aggressors. Despite the inhuman and bloody suppressions by the colonialists, they did not lose heart, and the survivors continued the struggle. In 1883, Liu Yongfu led his troops in another attack on Hanoi and inflicted a crushing defeat on the French Army. The brave Chinese insurrectionary army was simply irresistible, and the French commander Le Weiya /2621 4850 00667 was killed in action. He was the second commander of the French colonialist army eliminated by the Chinese people for Vietnam.

In 1883, France and Vietnam signed the "Hue Treaty." After that, Vietnam became a French "protectorate." However, until World War II when the French Army was replaced by the Japanese, the overseas Chinese and the Chinese insurrectionary troops who escaped into Vietnam joined the Vietnamese people in their persistent and protracted struggles against the French. In August 1940, the Japanese Army occupied Vietnam with hardly a shot being fired. Thus began the joint struggle by the Vietnamese people and the overseas Chinese again, this time against Japanese imperialism. During this time, besides taking a direct part in armed resistance against Japanese aggression, the overseas Chinese also supported the Vietnamese Army and people in various other ways. With the all-out support from Chinese people and the overseas Chinese, the Vietnamese people's struggle against Japanese aggression finally resulted in victory in September 1945.

However, on the very day Chairman Ho Chi Minh declared independence, 4,000 French troops again occupied Saigon. On 19 December 1946, the French troops began their northern invasion and bombarded Hanoi. After that, the Vietnamese people and overseas Chinese were forced to struggle against French aggression for the second time. In the autumn of 1948, an overseas Chinese guerrilla force was formed in Tien Co Mountain to resist French aggression. It began with only some 20 men, and was yet able to wage unrelenting struggles against the French colonialists. In 1949, this overseas Chinese guerrilla band expanded and was included in the Vietnamese people's army as the Fifth Brigade. This brigade was brave and formidable and repeatedly scored outstanding victories. About one-third of the overseas Chinese fighters in this heroic brigade laid down their lives for the sake of Vietnamese liberty and independence.

In the 1950's, the French colonialists had to withdraw under the blows of the Chinese and Vietnamese people, but U.S. imperialism seized this opportunity to set foot on Vietnamese soil by supporting Ngo Dinh Diem's reactionary

regime. Thereafter, people of the south and the overseas Chinese contributed everything they could, either money or manpower. For example, a certain Chinese transportation unit, which gave outstanding performances in the war of liberation in South Vietnam, was awarded the "Second-Class Steel Wall Medal" and the "Second Class Liberation Medal."

The broad masses of overseas Chinese in the north were actively engaged in production, and worked selflessly to give wholehearted support to the south in the form of manpower and materials. Many of them displayed the spirit of "one person doing the work of two persons," in supporting the front. An overseas Chinese named Fan, a member of the Labor Party who was given the honored title of "knight in destroying U.S. Troops" was one of the outstanding representatives. In 1 year, he transported to the front an amount of military materials normally requiring 2 years' transportation. In the days of wanton bombing by U.S. planes, he bravely carried on his struggle without regard for his own personal safety. In one of his combats with airplanes, a bullet struck his head, but with superhuman energy, he still stuck to his post and opened fire on three diving enemy planes. One of them was shot down, while he bravely shed the last drop of his blood in defense of the Vietnamese people's national dignity! With the continued escalation of the war, all of Vietnam was aflame. Overseas Chinese mothers had to send away their sons and daughters! Overseas Chinese wives had to send away their husbands! The overseas Chinese sons and daughters, wearing "Liberation Shoes" and holding submachine guns, were under Chairman Ho Chi Minh's command and ready for his summon. Everything they had, including their own precious lives, were at the disposal of the Vietnamese people. They took up their arms and advanced wave after wave regardless of their lives and blood, to fight for the cause of Vietnamese national independence and the people's liberation. Their heroic deeds formed a soul-stirring epic!

The lofty internationalist spirit of the broad masses of overseas Chinese in Vietnam during the Vietnamese struggle against French aggression, the period of construction after this war, and later the struggle against U.S. aggression is here for everyone to see and to praise. This cannot be denied by even the present Vietnamese leadership group. Way back in the 1960's, a certain Vietnamese leader also admitted that "In the Vietnamese people's revolutionary war against French aggression, many overseas Chinese compatriots fought shoulder to shoulder with the Vietnamese people and made valuable contributions to Vietnam's national liberation. After the liberation of North and South Vietnam, the overseas Chinese compatriots also joined the Vietnamese people in the common arduous task of construction in the north. They worked hard at every post, and with the spirit of masters of their own affairs, dedicated themselves to Vietnamese socialist construction as though the construction was carried out in their own motherland. For more than 10 years, large numbers of labor heroes, labor models and advanced producers emerged on every production and construction front. They achieved great success for the Vietnamese socialist construction and the promotion of economic development both in the south and the north. In the struggle against U.S. aggression, the overseas Chinese compatriots also made positive contributions."

The irrefutable historical facts cited above should clearly show the contributions by Chinese immigrants and overseas Chinese to Vietnam. For more than 2,000 years, the overseas Chinese residents in Vietnam and the Vietnamese people have been like brothers and relatives. They worked and lived together; and learned from and encouraged one another, thus forming a profound friendship. In the past 100 years, both Chinese and Vietnamese peoples suffered from colonial rules and imperialist aggressions and oppressions. Their common experiences and common goal of struggle have closely united these two peoples. In either the long revolutionary struggles against colonialism and imperialism or in postwar construction, the overseas Chinese and the Vietnamese people share a common destiny. They sweated together, shed blood together, and made positive contributions to Vietnamese national independence and the people's liberation. They have performed many inspiring heroic deeds, but who could have thought that despite such sincerity on their part, they would be now treated this way! In the face of the Vietnamese authorities' action in disrupting and sabotaging the friendly relations with us, and in brutally persecuting, suppressing and forcibly expelling overseas Chinese, the Chinese people cannot help feeling shocked and indignant!

The water rushing through the Red River comes from the high gulley of China and ends in the "Fantian" /3058 1131/ sea of Vietnam. The friendly relations between China and Vietnam, like the water of the Red River, will forever fertilize the soil of both countries. The earlier Chinese immigrants and the later overseas Chinese have advanced wave after wave to blaze trails and to pioneer, and their immortal achievements in developing and enriching Vietnamese social economy and culture will forever remain resplendent on Vietnamese soil! Yet, at the bidding of the Soviet leading clique, the Vietnamese authorities, who are now frantically opposing China and wantonly persecuting and driving out the overseas Chinese, will certainly come to no good end. They will be ridiculed by history.

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PARTY AND STATE

PURGING OF FEUDAL CONSCIOUSNESS URGED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 16 Sep 79 pp 1, 4

/Article by our own commentator: "On the Ideology of Feudalism"/

/Text/ Feudal consciousness is a huge obstacle to the rapid realization of the Four Modernizations. This is a problem to which we should direct our serious attention.

Feudal consciousness is at any time still visible in the realities of life today. Exactly as Comrade Hua Guofeng pointed out in the "Report on the Work of the Government" which he presented at the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress: "The history of feudalism in our country is a very long one. Our economy and culture were comparatively backward and in addition, democracy was never adequately and correctly propagated and implemented, and its institutions were most imperfect. Under these circumstances, despotism, bureaucratism, the "special privilege" mentality, paternalistic work style and anarchism could easily thrive and grow." The influences of bourgeois ideology and feudal ideology have therefore continued to exist among the people for a very long time and we must therefore maintain a lengthy struggle and education aimed against these influences." These two statements by Comrade Hua Guofeng make it clear to us that the thorough elimination of the influences of feudal ideology remains an extremely important task on the current ideological front.

Feudal consciousness is deep-rooted and firmly implanted in China. Throughout the 2,000 years of protracted government by the feudal rulers of successive dynasties, institutions such as the divinely mandated kingship to the highest supremacy of the monarch, from the three cardinal guides and five constant virtues to the three obediences and four virtues, from the nine ranks in officialdom to the tedious and complicated feudal etiquette, all these have been crystallized into a complete set of an ideological system. Through various forms such as ceremonial rules, art, religion, moral principles, etc., the feudal ideology was, in a subtle way, infiltrated into the minds of the ruled, forming a strong force of conservative traditions and customs. Engels expressed it well when he said: "Tradition is one huge force of resistance, it is the inertia of history." (Introduction to the English edition of "Development of Socialism From Utopia to Science")

To break through this inertia of history and change the feudal forms of production, our country has already conducted a protracted struggle. Part of modern Chinese history is the history of struggle against imperialism and feudalism. To overthrow the rule of feudal despotism, countless men of lofty ideals unhesitatingly risked their lives, spilled their blood, campaigned relentlessly for the good cause, one stepping into the breach as another fell, as they violently and unremittently attacked the formidable forces of feudalism. Hong Xiuquan, Sun Yatsen, Qiu Qin, Li Dazhao, are glorious names, each to go down in the annals of history. The bourgeois-democratic party led by Sun Yatsen finally achieved victory in the Revolution of 1911. However, history has shown that the Chinese bourgeoisie was an extremely weak class; the Revolution of 1911 merely drove away the emperor of the Manchu dynasty but did not institute a radical change in the social system. After crafty Yuan Shikai stole the fruits of the 1911 Revolution, he turned his hands to settling affairs with the revolutionaries and picked up the imperial crown which the revolutionaries had flung to the ground. He refurbished it a bit and placed it on his own head. Many party men in the Constituent Assembly, to their shame, were quick to prostrate themselves in the Juren Hall before Yuan and to do homage to him. History indeed took a slight turn for the worse, but the march of history cannot be held back. Soon, and at the right time, the great May 4 movement emerged. It raised high the banner of democracy and science, launched a movement for the emancipation of the mind for the first time in modern Chinese history and raised the curtain for the New-Democratic Revolution. The May 4 movement effected a complete collapse of the feudal social system and its ideology in a thorough cleanup of the ideological field. However, the May 4 movement by no means achieved the historical task of thoroughly repudiating feudal consciousness. Many an impassioned article was written by many a writer, but as the revolution penetrated more deeply, the ranks of the May 4 pioneers split into factions; some advanced, some stole away and some became rebels. This was because without grasping the theoretical weapon of Marxism, feudal consciousness cannot be vanquished completely. It is exactly as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "There were also shortcomings in the May 4 Movement itself. Many of its leaders did not yet have the critical spirit of Marxism. The methods they employed were in general still those of the bourgeoisie, that is, the methods of formalism." Although the northern warlords were later defeated, the fruits of victory in the Northern Expedition were again snatched away by Chiang Kaishek. The rule of feudal, fascist, despotic dictatorship continued in China for over 20 years. Confucianism, as before, but topped off with the additional compradorbourgeois ideology, occupied the dominant position in old China.

The "congenital" shortcomings of the Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution had the serious effect that feudal consciousness could continue to sustain itself intact. Lenin once expressed that the bourgeois revolution was carried out for the sake of sweeping away the vestiges of the old system, but was also a revolution which would most fully guarantee the broadest, most liberal and most rapid development of capitalism. "In a certain sense, the bourgeois revolution was more beneficial for the proletariat than for the bourgeois." Therefore, "the more fully, determinedly and thoroughly the bourgeois revolution was carried out, the better did it guarantee achievement

of socialism in the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie." ("The Two Strategies of the Social-Democratic Party in the Democratic Revolution") Conversely, we can also assume that as the bourgeois-democratic revolution was not carried out completely and thoroughly, the subsequent socialist revolution of the proletariat will meet with greater forces of resistance and more difficulties. The facts are exactly like this. Because, on the one hand, feudalism had become a deep-rooted force in China as the years had gone by, and on the other hand because the bourgeoisie had not been strong enough to shoulder the historical task of thoroughly transforming the feudal ideology and of fully removing that huge obstructing mountain that feudalism had been, the task, by historical necessity, fell on the shoulders of the proletariat.

The New-Democratic revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party launched a vigorous offensive against feudalism. After 28 years of a struggle of extreme hardships and difficulties, the feudal and fascist Jiang-clan dynasty was finally buried, and the Chinese New-Democratic revolution had won victory. It merits attention that during this period when class and national contradictions were extremely intricate and complex and when the national contradictions rose to primary importance, the landlord class, apart from traitorous elements, still remained as a target of the united front. Especially since this revolution was conducted under the uninterrupted conditions of intense struggle, and land reform was an extremely pressing task, spurring us on to concentrate our main attention and strength on the reform of the political and economic system, we could not avoid leaving behind that tail of a large task, the fight against feudal consciousness, to endure right down into the period of the socialist revolution.

Since the establishment of the new China, we have given more attention to the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and to criticizing bourgeois ideology; this is of course very necessary. However, we have underestimated the serious influences of feudal traditions and its powers, the criticism of feudal consciousness was not forcefully pursued and we neglected the struggle against feudal ideology. People would frequently emphasize "foster proletarian ideology and eliminate bourgeois ideology," but would never place the criticism of feudal consciousness on their daily agenda. Feudal consciousness could therefore secretly thrive and grow, so that this thing which long ago should have been swept into the garbage can of history, could give itself various false appearances and spread far and wide in an apparently legitimate way. Bureaucratism, the "special privilege" mentality and paternalistic work style are instances of this. This is precisely what Lin Biao and the "gang of four" took advantage of to allow feudal consciousness to run wild during the cultural revolution under various misleading false pretences as their tool for the pursuit of a counterrevolutionary restoration.

History sometimes likes to play jokes on people. The cannibalistic feudal ethics, which half a century ago had already been vigorously assailed by Chen Duxiu, Li Dazhao and Lu Xun, were again made into a revolutionary "new ideological trend" in the 1960s of the 20th century, instigating people to

prostrate themselves in pious adoration of theocracy. Lin Biao and the "gang of four," on the one hand, shouted, down with the "four olds," but on the other hand set society back, with a frightening speed, into a state of ignorance that was even more "four oldish" than the "four olds." The rubbish and nonsense that this one person Jiang Qing gave off became the "mostest" of revolutionary golden rules and precious precepts, and the unbearably decadent feudal ethics were made out to be "simple class feelings." There appeared such phenomena as asking for instructions beforehand and submitting reports afterwards and the prayer of the faithful in front of living idols. Crowds of people who had suffered persecution would bow deeply to the leader's portrait, "admit errors and ask for punishment," saluting like performing a rite. At meetings there was a rule to recite long paragraphs from the "Quotations" booklet, which also had to be worn over the heart and raised high, especially on the "left" side. Social dancing was forbidden ("that is bourgeois") but everybody had to dance the "dance of loyalty." Singing of lyrical songs was forbidden ("petty bourgeois, that is, also bourgeois") but everybody had to "sing the quotations." The outstanding case of injustice inflicted on martyr Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 2450] illustrates the tragic sacrifice by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" on the alter of feudalism, and many more comrades in the thousands have fallen victim to the feudal-fascist butchers! There was a reflection of this kind of feudal consciousness to be seen in every corner of social life: women's clothes were to return to Han and Tang dynasty styles, daughters were married off as "high-priced girls," people no longer called each other "comrades" but by their official titles, in case of the slightest irreverence to senior officials of the central government, "cannons would boom," etc. Looking back at these things today, they appear like good jokes, but only yesterday they were absolutely true facts. The laughter at these jokes would come from the bottom of a heart filled with sadness: after over 20 years of socialism, how could feudalism still be prevalent like this at the birthplace of Mao Zedong Thought? Having suffered deceit, humiliation and injury for over 10 years, the people will inevitably ask themselves this question very seriously, now that they can raise their heads once more and straighten up. Because only by summing up the lessons of experience and by seeking out the socio-historical roots that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" took advantage of in their wanton ways, can we rid ourselves of the load on our minds, distinguish right from wrong and advance with great strides!

The reason feudalism could dominate the minds of people for such a long period of time and the reason feudal consciousness could become a powerful force of custom, is not that it is an eternal truth but merely because it suited the small-scale peasant economy which had remained basically unchanged for the last 2,000 years. The economic base determines the superstructure. If the economic conditions remain unchanged over a long period of time, ideology, as a consequence, will also not change over a long period of time. Up to the beginning of the Opium War, the Western powers used their big guns to open up the heavy, barred doors of the Chinese empire, but the feudal diehards in the Manchu government obstinately resisted the advanced Western science and technology. Anyone studying foreign books on acoustics, optics, chemistry and electricity was called a traitor; anyone advocating Western learning was denounced as a "criminal anti-Confucianist and degenerate of the scholarly world." Science was regarded as heresy, democracy was considered

treason and a moral outrage, only kowtowing could still get you by and all thinking became ossified. One of the main reasons why feudal consciousness could still find a market for such a long time after the victory of the New-Democratic revolution in China was that our economy developed so slowly. Although we completed the socialist transformation of the small-scale peasant economy during the period from liberation to 1957, our country's agriculture still mainly depended on manual labor. Our national economy did indeed experience a comparatively rapid development in this period, but basically the country still remained in a state of "poverty and blankness." Later, the additional worship of ultra-leftist tendencies led to certain mistakes in policy, and in particular the usurpation of party and state power by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" created chaotic conditions lasting for 10 years and sent the national economy to the brink of collapse, while--not surprisingly--feudal consciousness developed even more intensively.

If the economy undergoes a change, ideology must follow and change accordingly. Exactly as Marx said: "A change in the economic foundation will be followed by a faster or slower transformation in the entire edifice of the superstructure." (Introduction to "A Critique of Political Economics") At the same time we must not overlook the reaction of the transformation of the superstructure on the economic foundation. Engels pointed out: "The development of politics, law, philosophy, religion, literature, art, etc. is based on the economic development. However, these fields also mutually influence each other and influence the economic foundation." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 506) History and reality tell us: If ideology does not follow the changes after the economic foundation of society has already undergone a basic transformation, it will adversely affect or even ruin the stability and further development of the economic foundation. Imagine if at this juncture when the demand is for quickening the pace of the Four Modernizations, we would allow our minds to be shackled by feudal ideology as sometime in our past, and remain in an ossified or semi-ossified condition, if we would not dare to contemplate problems that our predecessors have not thought of, if we would go against the correct principle of seeking truth from facts and on the contrary would show a lack of courage to set right what we clearly realize as wrong, if in all problems we would refer to nothing else but the books, seeking in them ready-made conclusions, although in fact no conclusions suited to the conditions of today are contained in the Marxist writings of a hundred or several tens of years ago. Would that not be an absolutely impossible attitude? If that state of mind would be allowed to prevail, how could we possibly realize the Four Modernizations.

Emancipation of the mind is the precursor of social development. Thought has gone ahead of every great transformation in human society. Since the start of this century, our nation has undergone three great liberation movements: the first was the May 4 Movement, the second was the rectification movement at Yenan, and the emancipation of the mind which is now being launched in the wake of the debate on the criteria for truth is the third such movement. Historical experience has proven that following a movement of emancipation of the mind, there is bound to be a great change in Chinese politics, the economy and culture. If we are to go on with our present

movement for the emancipation of the mind, we must engage in a penetrating criticism of the feudal consciousness and put an end to the ideological ossification or semi-ossified condition. We must use the sharp weapon of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to courageously destroy all superstitions and free ourselves from the curse of idolatry and obscurantism spread by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." All idols and superstitions constitute a prison of the human mind and shackle us hand and foot. This is well expressed in an article of the XIN QING NIAN /NEW YOUTH/: "All religion is one big idol for the deception of mankind, Amitabha Buddha is a fraud, God Jehovah is a fraud and the Jade Emperor is a fraud. All the spirits, buddhas, ghosts and saints which the religionists worship are useless and deceitful idols which should all be smashed!" If the antifeudal pioneers of 60 years ago could muster this kind of courage, we today, after almost 50 years of socialist revolution, need of course not stand behind. History is always advancing, thought will in the end be liberated. Whoever moves against the current of history and tries to preserve things that practical experience has judged as of no more vitality, will only be swept aside by the current of history. We hope that comrades who still harbor "fear to spare" in their hearts will stop fearing, and we suggest that they turn their "fear to spare" into "courage to spare." Where can "courage to spare" derive from? There is only one source: from an emancipation of the mind. If the mind is liberated, if a complete and correct mastery of the scientific system of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought has been achieved and a world outlook of dialectic materialism and historical materialism has been acquired, many things can be brought to a successful conclusion.

Strengthening socialist democracy is a powerful weapon for the elimination of all feudal consciousness. Feudal despotism will not permit anything democratic. "People are to be made to follow, not to be informed." There was never the possibility for the lower ranks in relation to higher ranking officials, or for the common people in relation to men in official positions, to raise dissenting opinions and even less to censure them. What it was like in the feudal society when common people met officials is introduced to us in the "Liao Zhai"; the officials "drove about in chariots and lived in large houses. One order from above and hundreds below responded." The common people could only "look askance and stand fearfully by the side." Under the influence of this type of feudal consciousness, some leading cadres have become accustomed to paternalistic practices and would not suffer the least bit of democracy in anyone else. There are also people who will not dare to think through problems for themselves based on factual conditions. Without authoritative "writings" or a "nod of the head," they don't know how to get along at all. To change these conditions, we must be firmly determined to develop socialist democracy. We must regard the question of socialist democracy above all as a state institution of the socialist state. Not to promote socialist democracy and not to practice democratic centralism amounts to a rejection of socialism.

We want to allow the masses to speak out. We shall willingly listen to all kinds of different opinions, to those that are pleasing as well as to those that are not pleasing to our ears. We shall hear them all and encourage in

the people a sense of responsibility as masters of their own affairs. We shall encourage their zeal and enthusiasm, their initiative and a spirit of self-sacrifice that defies all personal danger. We shall support suggestions put forth as creative initiative by the masses, and undaunted by possible setbacks shall put them into effect. It is exactly as Comrade Hua Guofeng pointed out in his "Report on the Work of the Government": "Only through a full development of democracy can we bring about criticism and supervision by the broad masses of leading organs of the state and of leading cadres, the elimination of bureaucratism and bad conservative habits and practices, and in good time expose degenerate elements, grafters, embezzlers, counterrevolutionary and criminal elements that might possibly appear, and thus consolidate our socialist undertaking and our socialist state." The more we develop our socialist democracy, the better will we be able to thoroughly rid ourselves of feudal consciousness and the better shall we be able to realize the Four Modernizations.

Strengthening the socialist legal system is another important measure to thoroughly eliminate feudal consciousness. During the time the "gang of four" was on the rampage, and under the influence of a mentality of "the state that is myself" and "the sovereign controls everything," no dissenting opinion or criticism could be voiced against the party's leading personnel (especially those of high rank) unless one were to run the risk of being branded "anti-party" or "opposing the headquarters of the proletariat," or finally becoming an "ideological criminal," separated, arrested, criticized and denounced, sentenced and even possibly executed, one thing following the other, and possibly being made a criminal with an involvement of one's family to the ninth generation. Truly, a state of absolute lawlessness and complete disregard of whatever law there was! The tragedy of Comrade Zhang Zhixin, who was cruelly murdered, is a lesson experienced with deep grief and remorse, which teaches us never to be without a good legal system. The democratization of our politics must be protected by a socialist legal system. In our country there should be no ideological crimes. All cadres, whether of high or low rank, must be equal before the law. To obey the socialist laws is obeying the leadership of the party and obeying the common will and observing the common interests of the whole nation. Disciplinary punishment and legal punishment shall be meted out in such cases of unhealthy trends and evil practices as bureaucratism, arrogation of personal privileges, "going the back door," suppression of democracy, etc. if circumstances are serious enough and great harm resulted to the state or the people. Seven important laws have recently been promulgated by the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress. If we will only firmly uphold the principles of relying on law, dealing according to law, strictly enforcing the law and prosecuting violation of the law, we shall be able to effectively stop up all hideouts where feudal consciousness could thrive, and to prevent a recurrence of the tragedy of careerists like Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to rise to power.

A thorough elimination of feudal consciousness also requires that we start a reform of the cadre system and in this respect institute certain measures of fundamental nature. For instance, to solve the problem of that totally

feudal mentality of arrogating personal privileges, we must, on the one hand, of course resolutely criticize this mentality and any incidence of such conduct, and create a public attitude of regarding this mentality as shameful. However, at the same time we must also lay down regulations determining standards of pay and living conditions for the various ranks of leading cadres. The system of payment in kind was necessary during the war years, but if we would continue this practice today, to give a man whatever he says he needs, it would open a convenient door for the feudal mentality of "personal privileges." There is also the mentality believing that a cadre's rice bowl is unbreakable, that as a cadre one can only go up but never down, a mentality that must also be taken care of in the reform of the system. Apart from gradually instituting democratic elections, we must conscientiously carry out such systems as assessing proficiencies, etc., which would also be effective measures to supervise, encourage and check cadre performances. The titles for technical personnel must be checked; why should we not check our bureau chiefs, division heads, institute directors and school principals? Those who pass the test, who are both socialist-minded and proficient in their jobs, may continue in their positions; the masses would then also support you. Those who do not pass the test would meet with strong opposition from the masses; you should make an effort to make a spurt, learn skills and capabilities for the work of the Four Modernizations in order to meet the demands that the new situation makes on you.

History has reached a new turning point. The 900 million people on China's 9.6 million square km of territory are at present exerting themselves in the struggle to accomplish the historical task of completing the Four Modernizations before the end of this century. This is a fundamental measure to thoroughly eliminate all feudal consciousness. Marx and Engels have already warned us: "The various forms and products of "consciousness are not such that can be destroyed by criticism of the spirit," "they can only be destroyed by a real overthrow of the factual social relations produced by the various idealistic fallacies." The better we develop production and the more advanced our science becomes, the more will feudal consciousness necessarily shrink. The ghost of feudal consciousness will in the end be disposed of by the thundering guns of modernization. Science will in the end vanquish superstition, socialist consciousness will in the end replace feudal consciousness, this is one of the objective rules which cannot be altered by the will of man. However, the best way to speed up the effectiveness of this rule is none other than a rapid development of the productive forces. We believe that through the efforts of one or more generations, feudal ideology will certainly be buried by us once and for all!

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CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

NO GROUNDS FOR PESSIMISM ABOUT CHINA'S FUTURE

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 13 Sep 79 p 4

[Article by Yi Mu /0076 2606/: "Confidence and Strength"]

[Text] Recently some comrades have discussed the mental state of some persons. This indeed deserves to be taken seriously. It seems now that this general mood prevails: when several persons gather together or hold a meeting to discuss any problem, some comrades are always full of grievances. The economic problem, the youth employment problem, the problem of leading cadres' privileges, etc--the discussion never ends, and the more they talk the angrier they get. At last they heave a sigh of despair: "Alas, China's affairs are not going well!"

China's affairs are indeed not going well. The population is large and the economy backward. The problems caused by the 10 years of sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have piled up. To put in order this big, this jumbled "stall" by discussion--how easy!

However, the key is not how many problems we have but rather the people's mental state when dealing with problems and difficulties. During the war were our problems few? In the 3-year period of difficulties around 1960, were our problems few? In a sense, the problems and difficulties of that time were not less than those of today. But the mental state of the people at that time was good, and they just refused to be taken in by fallacies. Imperialists and reactionaries were all paper tigers--vanquish them; natural and man-made calamities were also paper tigers--overcome them! When people work with one mind they can even remove Mount Tai--many problems were solved and many difficulties overcome. The situation today can be said to be much better than the situation then. What reason is there for this lack of confidence?

In saying this we certainly do not mean to shut people's mouths, to forbid criticism, to not permit the pointing out of problems existing in our work, concealing faults and glossing over wrongs. On the contrary, for everybody to dare to criticize and to be able to discuss matters is precisely one manifestation of an excellent situation. The problem is that when pointing

out problems, when looking at difficulties and darkness, we should also look at the brightness and the triumphs, encourage bravery, think of other ways of doing things, break through the darkness, overcome difficulties, and not allow ourselves to become dejected. We oppose putting mind first, oppose practicing idealism. But we definitely cannot ignore the counteraction of the mind. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Morale should be boosted, and not dampened" and "People must have some spirit." The ancients said: "The commander of the three armed forces may be captured, but you cannot take away the will, even from an ordinary person." ("Analects") Everybody has seen the film "Pioneers" in which Zhou Tingsha spoke three extraordinarily apt sentences: "A country must have its people's morale! A military unit must have esprit de'corps! A person must have ambition!" Having this kind of "spirit" can produce strength. Having this kind of strength and using it in objective existence can create human miracles.

There are people who say: Where there is obviously a big pile of problems confronting a person and he pretends that it is nothing, isn't this puffing himself up to his own cost? No. We must strongly avoid onesidedness. At present we indeed have many problems. But if we compare the present time with the time when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running amok, at bottom which time is better? At that time, "factory chimneys did not dare emit smoke" and "production was stopped in order to make revolution" to the extent that there was not even a cent in wages; at that time, the rural areas were making the "transition through poverty" to the extent that many people could not fill their bellies; at that time for students "classes were suspended in order to make revolution" to the extent that many youths became illiterates and hooligans.... After the smashing of the "gang of four," under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, in a period of only 3 years, not only has production been restored but also it has seen a comparatively large development. The people's life, society's atmosphere, relations between people, etc, have all clearly improved. Even our international friends see this improvement. How can we ignore it?

There are people who say: I see these things mentioned above, but I have complaints and have lost confidence because leading cadres grab privileges. This problem is indeed serious, and the workstyle of some persons makes people rightly indignant! It is necessary to firmly struggle against this practice. We must, however, make an objective, analytical appraisal of our cadre ranks. It is true that in these ranks there are some persons who grab special privileges and harbor unhealthy tendencies. However, first of all, we must not forget that this workstyle is illegal in our party. The Party Central Committee has issued repeated injunctions and adopted many measures, including the formation of commissions for inspecting discipline, has worked out standards for life within the party, has just formulated standards of conduct for upper-level cadres, etc. The objective of all these measures, without exception, is to firmly check these unhealthy tendencies. And in fact many have been checked already. Second, we must impartially evaluate our cadres. Even if there are still some who harbor unhealthy tendencies, after the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially after the readjustment, the vast majority of our cadre ranks are good or relatively good. Not mentioned earlier is that,

speaking of Shanghai, to my personal knowledge there are many upper-level cadres who have very good workstyles. They are concerned about the people's hardships. They go deeply among the residents and have heart-to-heart talks with families that have housing difficulties, and personally ride buses in order to understand the transportation situation. The sons and daughters of some relatively responsible cadres are still working on farms. Some cadres are over 60 or 70 years old, are weak and ill, and yet they still work hard day and night for the party and the people.... They are all honest. To say that our cadres are like the people in the saying "There are no good people in Hongdong County" does not accord with reality. There are no grounds for losing confidence when hearing about or seeking problems.

It will soon be the 30th anniversary of our country's founding. During these 30 years, although we have experienced some complications, ironclad facts prove: our country has proved itself to be a great country, our people have proved themselves to be a great people; and our armed forces have proved themselves to be great armed forces. In the past, the disruption and sabotage caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" could not stop our advance. Today, after they have been smashed, there is even less any power that can stop our advance. On the path of our advance, we can make this or that mistake, but history proves: our party can overcome its own failings and advance in good health. We should have confidence in this, and with it we will have strength. We should overcome any feeling of pessimism, get rid of any tendency toward separatism, unite, and advance toward the great and brilliant morrow!

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PARTY AND STATE

NOT ALL CRITICISM DURING CULTURAL REVOLUTION WAS WRONG

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 5 Oct 79 p 2

[Article by Chen Sanzhu [7115 0005 3796], member of the Sanhua [0005 5478], Jun'an [9071 1344] commune, Shunde County: "Are 'All Things Correct That Were Critized' in Those Days?"]

[Text] Some people think: In the Great Cultural Revolution, especially during those years when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running amok, all things that were criticized then are now "all correct." Is this correct? The answer is: No!

This is because this idea runs counter to materialist dialectics. Its logic is: Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were reactionary, and therefore all things that were criticized during those years are now, without exception, correct. If this idea takes root, it will certainly affect our correct implementation of the spirit of the Party's Third Plenary Session and our correct carrying out of all of the party's general and specific policies.

I think that, of the things that were criticized during the Great Cultural Revolution, some were criticized owing to the criminal objective of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to usurp the party and seize power. They reversed right and wrong, confused black and white, and these criticisms ought to be negated. However, the criticism by the revolutionary masses of old things absolutely cannot be negated without exception. For instance, in the sweeping away of the "four olds" [old ideas, old culture, old customs, old habits], there were both correct and incorrect aspects. Its correct aspect was to make a clean sweep of feudal superstitions, to expose the fraudulent nature of supernatural beings and Buddhist idols, and to propagate atheistic thought. Its negative aspect was that, owing to the ultraleft disruption, when sweeping away the "four olds" many cultural relics were destroyed and many cultural materials scattered and lost. But can we come to the conclusion that all criticism of the "four olds" during these years was incorrect and that today the "four olds" are correct? In recent years, why have the "four olds" again raised their heads in society?

Why have some superstitious wares again been publicly exposed for sale in society? In my view, this cannot be separated from the above-mentioned mistaken thinking and understanding. Moreover, what was criticized in the past was the pursuit of food, drink, sport, and pleasure, the ideological behavior of modeling oneself on the lifestyle of the West's bourgeoisie. Today, how can we say this criticism was mistaken? If everybody, from morning until night, only thinks of food, drink, sport, and pleasure, then when will the four modernizations be realized?

In saying these things I have only one point to make, viz, it is necessary to take the dialectical materialist viewpoint in order to correctly deal with the things that were criticized during the Great Cultural Revolution.

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PARTY AND STATE

SOME COMRADES DELUDED ABOUT PARTY'S STANCE ON CRITICISM

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 5 Oct 79 p 2

[Article in "Short Commentary" column by Zhang Jijun /1728 4480 6511/ and Wen Jia /5113 0502/: "Short Discussion on 'What Was Criticized'"]

[Text] There are comrades who do not understand some of the party's present policies. They say: "What was criticized in the past is precisely what is encouraged now," thereby manifesting a considerable number of delusions. In the current discussion of the criterion for truth, doubts along these lines should and can be resolved.

Indeed, "what was criticized in the past is precisely what is encouraged now"--this situation truly obtains. The problem here is not whether "what is encouraged now" is "what was criticized in the past," but in whether the "past criticism" was correct and whether the "present encouragement" is correct. In the past, we made criticisms on many questions, and among them were correct but also many incorrect criticisms. Naturally, we should not encourage now what was correctly criticized; and we should negate the criticism and encourage what was incorrectly criticized. Here, in deciding what was "correct" and "incorrect," we cannot use as our criterion the "criticism" itself, but must use reality as our criterion. What reality proves to have been correctly criticized was a correct criticism; what reality proves to have been incorrectly criticized was an incorrect criticism. Reality is the supreme judge, and we cannot say that whoever made the criticism is able to change the nature of things.

In the discussion of the truth criterion, we must "bring order out of chaos," and this includes bringing order out of chaos with regard to the question of "what was criticized." For a long period of time, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" pursued an ultraleft line, taking people for demons and demons for people, and confusing right and wrong. This was like the generalities made by some comrades who took falsehoods for truths and encouraged them, and who took truths for falsehoods and criticized them. They pretended that false socialism was scientific socialism, and uprooted scientific socialism on the pretext that it was capitalism. They took devils for good people, and overthrew good people on the pretext that they were "devils." As time passed, they ossified people's thinking, and as a result there is a serious aftermath

today. In this situation, if we do not uphold reality as the sole criterion for testing truth, but rather base our judgement on whether it was criticized in the past, won't we still, consciously or unconsciously, be still following the ultraleft line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four"? In that case, how could we talk about bringing order out of chaos?

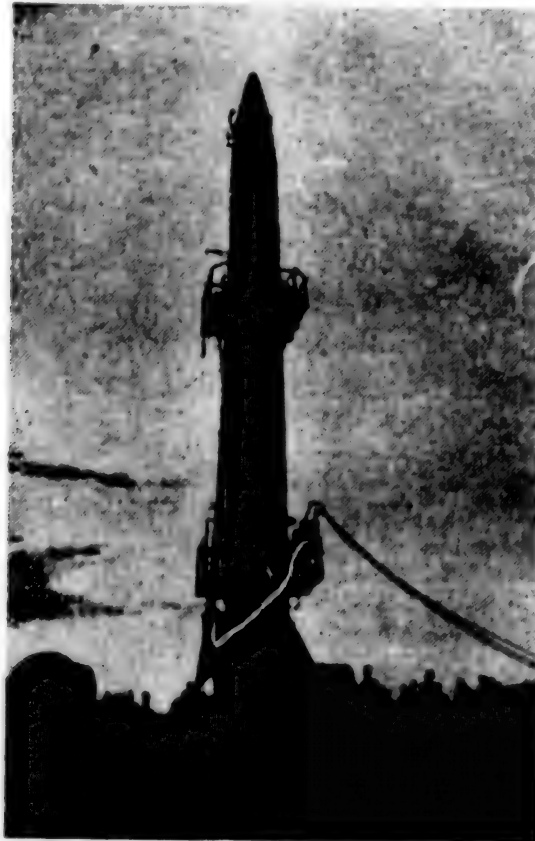
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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PLA STEPS UP BUILDING IN MODERNIZATION WITH CHINESE-MADE MISSILE

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Sep 79 p 4

[Photo caption under overall heading: "Our Great Motherland With Bright Future"]



The PLA strives to step up building in revolutionization and modernization. Shown is a Chinese-developed ballistic missile. (Photograph by Zhang Jucheng [1728 1565 2052])

PLAAF RADAR STATION IN NORTHWEST YUNNAN

Kunming YUNNAN HUA BAO in Chinese No 2, 1979

[Photo captions under overall heading: "Radar Station Above the Snow Line"]



A "clear vision" on the wind swept and snow covered plateau



Personnel making inspections and repairs in the biting wind to ensure the successful operation of communications lines.

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

LANZHOU UNITS DEVELOP NEW ANTITANK RIFLE GRENADE

Hong Kong CONMILIT in Chinese 25 Sep 79 p 23

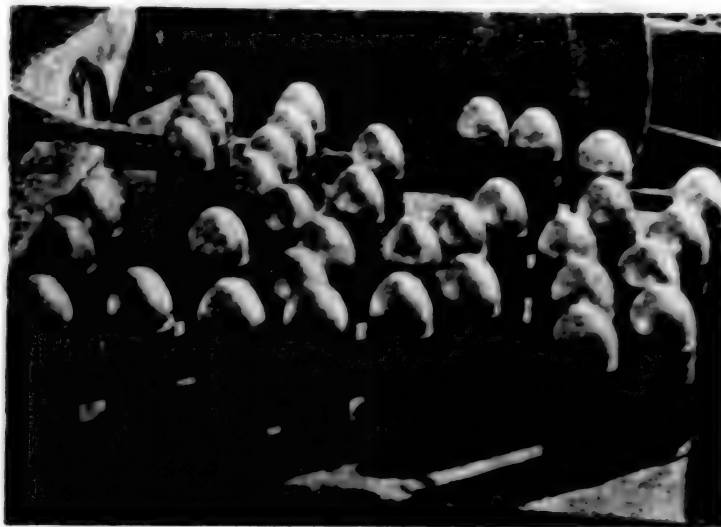
[Article: "Lanzhou Units Develop Infantry Antitank Rifle Grenade"]

[Text] According to a People's Daily report, a new type of infantry antitank rifle grenade has been successfully developed. It has excellent armor-piercing capability, weighs less than a grenade and is very easy to use. This type of rifle grenade was developed by Tang Chaoming [0781 2600 2494], deputy chief of the ordnance section of a certain unit of the Lanzhou Units, with the assistance of units concerned.

In January 1974, after attending technical innovation meetings held by PLA units, Tang Chaoming decided to improve each soldier's anti-armor combat capability. After the conclusion of the meetings, he returned to his unit and drew up draft designs with the assistance of ammunition experts from units concerned.

Tang Chaoming's development of the rifle grenade went from an idea to a design and rapidly to trial tests. After some 200 tests failures, the rifle grenade achieved marked progress in September 1975 when it was able to pierce through a 150 mm thick steel plate target. Responsible persons of the Lanzhou units encouraged Tang Chaoming's work and leading organs allocated funds for the development and designated units concerned to provide assistance. Recently, after 5 years and over 500 tests, a new type of infantry antitank rifle grenade was successfully developed. Tang Chaoming received an advanced promotion in his unit and his name was put forward for a meritorious award, first class.

[The above article was accompanied by the photograph below. Note the caption indicates anti-personnel rifle grenade, not antitank rifle grenade.]



Shown are Vietnamese anti-personnel rifle grenades, possibly Chinese-made, captured by the PLA during their punitive attack.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

MILITARY BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

[The following biographic information on selected military personnel was extracted from Chinese-language newspapers as indicated]

Huang Chenghua [7806 0701 5478] was identified as secretary of a CYL branch of the 3rd Machine gun and Artillery Company of a certain PLA unit. (Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO 13 Sep 79 p 3)

Liang Hungkun [2733 3163 0981] was identified as commander of the 5th Company of an antiaircraft artillery regiment of the Guangzhou Units. (Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO 6 Oct 79 p 3)

Liu Xianxu [0491 6343 7312] was identified as deputy group commander of a certain naval ocean survey da-dui stationed in Guangzhou. (Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO 6 Oct 79 p 3)

Wu Wanhui [0702 2187 0932] was identified as deputy political commissar of a certain PLAAF regiment. (Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO 21 Sep 79 p 4)

Zhang Fugui [1728 1381 6311] was identified as former battalion commander of the 1st Battalion (Gao Ping Spearhead Vanguard Battalion of the self-defense counterattack war) of a certain regiment stationed in Guangzhou; now deputy regimental commander. (Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO 6 Oct 79 p 3)

Zhu Wanlin [2612 5502 2651] was identified as deputy political commissar of a tank regiment of the Nanjing Units. (Shanghai WEN HUI BAO 31 Aug 79 p 1)

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

JUDICIAL CHECKS, BALANCES DEFENDED

Beijing JENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 10 May 79 p 3

/Abridged article by Ceng Longyue /2582 7893 6460/, reproduced from inaugural issue of FAXUE YANJIU /Law Study/: "Insist of Mutual Coordination and Mutual Restraint Among Public Security, Procuratorial, and Judiciary Organs"

/Excerpt/ Although the public security organs, procuratorial organs, and people's courts have differing functions, they are all law enforcement agencies of the state and are the weapons of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under our country's legal system, we have established the principle of mutual coordination and mutual restraint by the public security, procuratorial, and judiciary organs. The public security organs are primarily responsible for investigating criminal cases, the procuratorial organs are responsible for legal supervision, and the people's courts are responsible for the administration of justice. The disposition of a criminal case requires the organic coordination of the three organs, investigation by the public security organ, arrest and charge by the procuratorial organ, and trial by the people's court, all in a concerted effort, and at the same time, since the three organs have different work, each attending to its own duties, they also exercise mutual restraint on each other. If some problem arises or if a disagreement develops during the handling of a case, the difference of opinion between them can be raised according to legal procedures to prevent deviation and error and improve the quality of case handling, so that it is neither perverse nor indulgent.

The principle of mutual cooperation and mutual restraint by the public security organs, procuratorial organs, and people's courts is determined by the nature of proletarian political power. We know that the dictatorship of the proletariat includes the two inseparable aspects of dictatorship over the enemy and democracy over the people. On the one hand it suppresses destructive activities by criminal elements and class enemies, and at the same time guarantees the legitimate rights and interests of the citizens. Only by exercising dictatorship over the enemy can we ensure democracy for the people; and only by carrying forward the people's democracy and relying on the strength of the broad masses of people can we effectively exercise dictatorship over the enemy. The purpose of mutual coordination and mutual restraint

between the public security organs, the procuratorial organs, and the people's courts is to be able to attack the enemy accurately and protect the people conscientiously.

Whether or not our law-enforcement agencies will be able to take the lead in observing the law depends on whether or not we determinedly implement the principle of mutual coordination and mutual restraint by "security-procurator-courts." The law enforcement agencies must work strictly according to law, faithful to statutes and regulations, consciously accepting the restrictions of statutes and regulations, for otherwise they will disrupt the legal system, abuse power, harm the people, lower the authority of the party and government, and provide a loophole that the enemy can take advantage of for destructive activities.

The practice of many years of political and legal work reveals that when the principle of mutual coordination and mutual restraint by "security-procurator-courts" is firmly implemented, the quality of case-handling is high and the results are good; otherwise the quality of case-handling is low and results are poor. For example, in case-handling by the three organs "simultaneous arrest and trial," implemented in the past, and mutual restraint was cancelled, with the result that case-handling was crude and unjust cases increased.

However, the influence of legal nihilist ideology, particularly the pernicious influence of the left extremist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," has caused some of our comrades to misinterpret and misunderstand the principle of mutual coordination and mutual restraint of "security-procurator-courts," to the point that they criticize it, creating some confusion in the actual work, a not inconsequential harm, requiring further clarification even today.

First, it is called "duplication of labor." Comrades with this outlook generally feel that the handling of cases need not go through "three procedures," that the public security organs and the courts are sufficient, so why establish a procuratorial organ? This is because they do not understand the necessity or importance of establishing the three "security-procurator-courts" organs within the state judicial system and for their scientific division of labor, nor do they understand the capabilities and functions of the procuratorial organs, resulting in a kind of wrong thinking.

The specific authority bestowed on each of the three "security-procurator-courts" organs by the constitution and the statutes and their responsibilities in criminal litigation activities are all different. The principal duties of the public security organ are to investigate and solve the case, determine the facts of the case and the identity of the criminal, and when it is necessary to arrest a criminal, it must be through the approval of the procurator; the procuratorial organ has no authority to pass judgement, and those criminals who should be punished under the law must be prosecuted in the courts, so that the courts have the authority to decide if they should be punished or not.

This kind of division of labor and responsibility is necessary to the accurate exposure and proof of a crime and the correct punishment for the crime. The destructive activities of criminal elements for the most part involve covert methods, hiding the true facts, so complex circumstances are frequently encountered in the handling of a case. To be able to determine the facts of the crime thoroughly and objectively, protect the legitimate rights of the accused, and employ punishment properly, besides improving the education of the staff personnel, continuously raising the level of policy and statutes, and rectifying thinking and style, the greatest significance to preserving the quality of case-handling is in the three "security-procurator-courts organs each exercising its own authority and bearing its individual responsibility in mutual coordination and mutual restraint, conscientiously resolving all questions of fact, of whether or not a crime was committed, of whether or not to arrest, whether or not the nature of the offense is accurate, and whether the penalty is appropriate at all levels and stages of the "three procedures." The procuratorial organs, in their criminal prosecution activities, are in the important position of being both state prosecutor and legal supervisor, and bear the responsibility for weighing permission to arrest, weighing the decision to prosecute, and attending the court in support of the prosecution. In the course of this work, if they discover indications of a violation of statutes or regulations by the public security organ or the people's court in their investigatorial or trial activities, the procuratorial organ has the authority to carry out supervision and propose redress. These functions are not such that the public security organ could act for them, nor could they be included in the duties of the people's courts, so obviously, the establishment and perfection of a supervisory system is not just "duplication of labor," but is an important link in strengthening our country's criminal prosecution system.

Second, it is called "fault-finding and looking for trouble." In their work, our law enforcement agencies must be faithful to the statutes and regulations, faithful to the interests of the people, and faithful to the truth, for only in this way will they be able to complete the sacred mission bestowed on them by the party and the people.

If, in the process of handling a case, the three "security-procurator-court" organs discover circumstances contrary to statute or regulation or contrary to factual truth, they mutually propose ideas to redress it, and this is a manifestation of strict law enforcement, the ordinary function of mutual restraint, not any such thing as "fault-finding and looking for trouble." Practice shows that even in the ordinary handling of a case, due to the complexities of the case and the inability of the case handler to avoid bias completely, there are some cases in which the public security organ requests an arrest warrant that are found, upon examination by the procuratorial organ, not worthy of arrest; some offenders who have already been arrested, after examination by the procuratorial organ preparatory to prosecution, are found not deserving of prosecution; some cases that have already been charged, in the course of examination by the people's courts, are found not deserving of punishment. Of course, in actual work, there are also cases of those who ought to be arrested and are not, who ought to be prosecuted and are not, and

and who ought to be punished and are not, and these are redressed through proposal of ideas by the three organs according to legally specified procedures. Therefore, in handling of cases by the three "security-procurator-court" organs, the mutual restraint from the different standpoints of their various duties is completely necessary to guarantee the quality of case-handling. If we call this fault-finding, what is wrong with finding a fault, preventing an error, and guaranteeing the quality of case-handling? In years past, there were many cases of injustice and false verdicts caused by the destructive activities of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," causing us to expend a great deal of effort in reinvestigating, implementing policy, and redressing the injustices. After all, these were errors that could have been prevented before the fact, and wouldn't it have been better to have handled the cases properly and faultlessly in the first place than to have to undertake corrective actions afterward? This question is not difficult to respond to.

Third, it is called "hampering the struggle against the enemy." This is an unwarranted censure against the principle of mutual coordination and mutual restraint. In discussing the elimination of counterrevolutionaries comrade Mao Zedong pointed out "Laws and regulations must be observed. Working in accordance with law is not equivalent to binding up hand and foot." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 359)

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CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BRIEFS

NAVAL ACADEMY OPENS IN GUANGZHOU--In line with the need to modernize the navy, a new naval military academy recently opened in Guangzhou. This military academy is a comprehensive 4-year academy specialized in the training of basic level naval command cadres. Taking a firm and correct political orientation, workstyle of hard work and plain living and flexible strategy and tactics as the education policy, the academy trains students to have brave combat styles of "fearing neither hardship nor death," establish the lofty ideals of having deep love for the sea and ships and devote oneself to the cause of navy building, and sets up student course works in accordance with modernization demands to strengthen elementary scientific knowledge and study modern combat tactics and skills in order to build a strong navy that has modern combat capability for war. [Text] [Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 6 Oct 79 p 3]

COMFORT GROUP VISITS UNITS 52914, 52868--On 31 August, the Tianjin municipal CCP and revolutionary committees sent a comfort group to pay a comfort visit to the broad masses of PLA commanders and fighters who are engaged in crash repair of the Da Qing River banks. The comfort group consisted of responsible comrades from the Tianjin municipal CCP and revolutionary committees, general offices of the municipal party and revolutionary committees, municipal agricultural committee, municipal trade union headquarters, CYL party committee, municipal Women's Federation, municipal flood prevention command post and party committee of Jing Hai County. Members of the comfort group also included CPPCC members and well-known Hebei local drama performer Wang Yuqing. The comfort group visited commanders and fighters of PLA units 52914 and 52868 who took part in the task of repairing the Da Qing River banks. [Excerpt] [Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Sep 79 p 1]

CSO: 4005

VIEWS ON 'ONE DIVIDING INTO TWO,' 'TWO COMBINING INTO ONE' GIVEN

Beijing ZHIXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 8,
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[Article by Xue Zhen [5641 4176]: "Conflicting Views on 'One Dividing Into Two' and 'Two Combining Into One'"]

[Text] Recently, some newspapers and periodicals published articles reevaluating the issue of "one dividing into two" and "two combining into one" of 1964, and most of the articles affirmed that "two combining into one" was also materialist dialectics. I, however, have some differing views on the academic issue of "two combining into one." In 1964, the "theoretical authority" and those like Guan Feng [7070 6912] resorted to conspiracies and tricks, turned the normal academic discussion of the issue of "one dividing into two" and "two combining into one" into a "political movement" against "two combining into one," carried out political persecution of those comrades advocating and supporting the "two combining into one" viewpoint, sabotaged the implementation of the party's policy of "hundred flowers blooming; hundred schools of thought contending," strangled the socialist academic democracy, created a theoretical confusion, and produced disastrous consequences. It should be exposed and criticized; it is necessary to correctly summarize the experiences and lessons. In addition, during the Great Cultural Revolution, the said "theoretical authority," with an ulterior motive, instigated "Tang Xiaowen" to write, in the name of the revolutionary mass criticism writing group of the Central Party School, a number of articles "criticizing" "two combining into one" in connection with the so-called "third great polemics," condemning from the higher plane of principles and the two-line struggle, using large quantities of false accusatory and untrue words, and even affixing the "counterrevolutionary" label on Comrade Yang Xianzhen [2799 3759 3791] and others. This, also, should be exposed and criticized, and firmly refuted. However, whether "two combining into one" can be used scientifically to express the law of

the unity of opposites, and whether it is materialist dialectics identical with "one dividing into two" still require further discussion and clarification. We should permit the comrades holding different views to express themselves freely and launch a debate, for only thus will it benefit the development of China's academic theories. I now wish to discuss, in accordance with this spirit, my views on the issue of "one dividing into two" and "two combining into one," for enlightenment from Comrade Yang Xianzhen and the readers.

Comrade Yang Xianzhen said that "two combining into one" and "one dividing into two" are of the same meaning. Actually, his "two combining into one" viewpoint has its differences from Comrade Mao Zedong's fundamental thinking. When discussing the "two combining into one" viewpoint at the former Central Higher Party School between 1961 and 1964, Comrade Yang Xianzhen said that the phrase "two combining into one" was borrowed from "East-West Balance" written by Fang Yizhi of the Ming Dynasty. Just how much dialectics is in Fang Yizhi's "two combining into one" should be explored and discussed. Meanwhile, Comrade Yang Xianzhen's "two combining into one" viewpoint is not entirely Fang Yizhi's theory, but includes much of his own view. I feel that Comrade Yang Xianzhen has actually included many dialectic matters in his "two combining into one" viewpoint, but he degenerates into metaphysics on some fundamental issues. When we reevaluate the "two combining into one" issue today, we cannot completely depart from the concrete contents of the viewpoint expounded by Comrade Yang Xianzhen at that time. Recently, in "on the Issue of 'Two Combining into One'" (ZHEXUE YANJIU, No 5, 1979), he again emphatically declared that "two combining into one" and "one dividing into two" both express the law of the unity of opposites, and are the same thing, except for the difference in wording. Is "one dividing into two" actually the same thing as Comrade Yang Xianzhen's "two combining into one"? Is there a fundamental difference between "one dividing into two" and "two combining into one"? Thus, we are called upon to make some analyses and comparisons on the following relatively important issues.

I. Is "One Dividing into Two" a World Philosophy?

What is "one dividing into two"? It is a scientific, concise, and accurate expression of the law of the unity of opposites. There is no room for doubt. Lenin explained it very clearly: "The division of an entity into two parts and the understanding of the contradictory parts... are the essence of dialectics... or even its most important characteristic or trait." ("On the Issue of Dialectics"). "The division of an entity into two parts" was translated as "one dividing into two" in the 1950 Moscow Chinese edition of "Marx and Engels and Marxism." Lenin also defined the law of the unity of opposites as

"the division of an entity into two mutually repellent opposites and the interrelation between them." (Ibid.) Comrade Mao Zedong's "one dividing into two" was obviously based on Lenin's definition, and is the most concise and comprehensive exposition of the law of the unity of opposites. "One dividing into two" refers to the law of contradiction: Any unified object contains two contradictory aspects, and the two aspects are both linked and mutually repellent, i. e., both unified and conflicting. Since the two aspects of the contradiction are both unified and conflicting, they will inevitably, under certain conditions, mutually convert, and the original entity of the contradiction is replaced by a new entity. Therefore, not only in the stage of the quantitative change of an object are the opposites of a contradiction interdependent and "one dividing into two," but even in its stage of qualitative change, when they mutually convert, they are also "one dividing into two." Comrade Mao Zedong's entire "On Contradiction" is a discussion of "one dividing into two," and it can be entitled "the Theory of One Dividing into Two." In "On the Issue of Dialectics," Lenin pointed out: "Considering development as a decrease and increase, a repetition, and considering it as the unity of opposites (dividing an entity into two mutually repellent opposites and the interrelation between them)" were two fundamental development views. Comrade Mao Zedong, in "On Contradiction," called the two development views "the two kinds of cosmology." It clearly pointed out that the law of the unity of opposites, one dividing into two, is cosmology, or world philosophy.

Though Comrade Yang Xianzhen also clearly affirmed that "one dividing into two comes from the law of the unity of opposites" and "is the law of the unity of opposites," what is regrettable is that he stressed "two combining into one" as world philosophy, while relegating "one dividing into two" mainly as a method of understanding, of analyzing. He felt that any object is "two combining into one;" therefore, the method of "one dividing into two" must be adopted when examining issues. In the articles on the "two combining into one" viewpoint, some comrades also repeatedly expounded the same viewpoint: "Precisely because an object is 'two combining into one,' the method of understanding it is 'one dividing into two.' It is universal." Here, we have the following problems: First, since they recognize "one dividing into two" as the law of the unity of opposites, why do they not point out clearly that any object is "one dividing into two"? Why do they not clearly affirm that "one dividing into two" is a world philosophy? Next, is it theoretically tenable to sever world philosophy and methodology and regard them as two different things?

According to the Marxist philosophy, world philosophy and methodology are identical and unified. Comrade Mao Zedong said that materialist dialectics is the scientific methodology of Marxism, the method of

understanding, and the method of logic, and it is the world philosophy. The world is a developing material world to start with. It is the world philosophy. To use such world philosophy to view the world, study the issues in the world, guide the revolution, perform work, pursue production, direct battles, and discuss the right and wrong of people is methodology; there is no other methodology. Therefore, the Marxists consider world philosophy and methodology the same thing, and dialectics, epistemology, and logic are also the same thing. Comrade Yang Xianzhen, in his lectures, cited Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking many times; yet on the issue of "one dividing into two," he did not adhere to the idea that it is both the world philosophy and methodology.

II. What Is the Identity of Dialectics?

The identity referred to in the dialectics of "one dividing into two" is the identity of contradictions. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Identity, unity, and unanimity mutually permeate one another, mutually link with one another, mutually rely (or depend) on one another, mutually connect with one another, or mutually cooperate with one another. These different phrases are of one meaning, indicating the following two situations: First, the two aspects of every contradiction in the development process of an object each takes its opposite as the premise of its own being, and both aspects are located in the same entity; next, the two aspects of the contradiction, according to certain conditions, each converts toward its opposite. These are what we call identity." ("On Contradiction"). Very obviously, the so-called identity of contradictions is the link between opposites. Such link, in the state of the quantitative change of an object, manifests itself as interdependence; in the state of its qualitative change, a crack occurs in the original link, and manifests itself as the mutual conversion of the opposites. These two states of the identity of a contradiction are determined by the conflict of the contradiction, and identity includes conflict.

How did Comrade Yang Xianzhen interpret identity? When discussing the "two combining into one" viewpoint in his many talks and lectures inside and outside the school between 1961 and 1964, he repeatedly declared that identity is "commonalities," "things in common," or "common demands." He said: "Dialectics is such a theory: It studies how opposites can be identical. The identity is the thing in common--how to find a thing in common in the opposites.... This is what we call seeking common ground while reserving differences, or finding a point in common between the two sides.... Unity is the point in common." The identity mentioned by him refers to the sameness of opposites. For instance, he said that, during the war against Japan, the Communist Party and the Guomindang formed a

national united front, and therefore, there was an identity between them. Meanwhile, the Communist Party and Wang Jingwei had no identity with each other. By the time of the socialist period, the national bourgeoisie accepted the socialist reform, and acquired an identity with the proletariat. If it resisted the socialist reform, there would have been no identity. According to him, only when there is a sameness between the opposites will there be identity. If there is nothing in common between the opposites, there will be no identity. Before the Guomindang and the Communist Party formed a united front, and before the creation of the cooperative relationship of the united front between China's bourgeoisie and proletariat, there was no identity. Thus, his interpretation of identity is too narrow. He considers identity as pure sameness, and the differences and conflicts contained in identity are thereby lost.

The identity discussed by Comrade Yang Xianzhen can hardly be considered the true dialectic identity. Naturally, the dialectics of "one dividing into two" does not deny that common or unanimous things exist in the opposites of contradictions. Such common or unanimous things are contained in the identity of the opposites, especially in the many contradictions within the people. The contradictions between industry and agriculture, for instance, are thus. The relationship of the worker-peasant alliance contains unanimity of the fundamental interests of the workers and peasants. In this respect, Comrade Yang Xianzhen's viewpoint on identity contains some partial truth and rational elements. (Materialist dialectics does not reject the study of commonalities and differences of the opposites.) Therefore, it should not be simply and categorically negated. However, even for the contradictions under this situation, their identity cannot be generalized as commonalities, because the identity of contradictions includes the entire connecting relationship between the opposites. Meanwhile, identical and unanimous things do not exist in the opposites of all contradictions. Take Marxism and revisionism, socialism and imperialism, and revolution and counterrevolution for instance: No unanimity of fundamental interest, and no identical things, exist in the opposites, which are fundamentally opposed to each other. However, while the opposites of such contradictions have no common and unanimous things, they are not without identity. In the period of the war to resist Japan, a desperate and sharp contradiction and struggle existed between the Communist Party and Wang Jingwei's capitulationist faction; therefore, how can we say that there was fundamentally no identity in the contradiction? When the united front of the Communist Party and Jiang Jieshi split up, or when the capitalists resisted the socialist reform led by the worker class, nor was there no identity in the contradictions, except that there were changes in the state and concrete condition of such identity. If there was no identity in the contradiction, how did the

Communist Party and the revolutionary people defeat Guomindang and Jiang Jieshi? And how did they seize political power, change their position from being oppressed and controlled to controlling, and enforce the proletarian dictatorship? And how did they overcome the sabotage and attack of the socialist reform by the lawless capitalists? We can thus see that to categorize the entire content of the identity of contradictions as the sameness of opposites will inevitably turn into something subjective and fictitious, incompatible with the dialectics of objective things.

Engels once said: "Abstract identity ("a" = "a," and negatively, "a" cannot equal to "a" and not equal to "a" at the same time), similarly, is not applicable in the organic world of nature.... True and concrete identity contains differences and changes." ("Natural Dialectics," People's Publishing House, 1955 edition, pp 176, 178). Therefore, it is not difficult to see that Comrade Yang Xianzhen's generalizing the identity of the contradictions of all things as the sameness of opposites will inevitably repudiate the contradictory conflict contained in identity, thereby leading to the repudiation of the conversion of contradictions. Identity without contradiction and conflict, without the conversion of contradiction, can only be the abstract identity of metaphysics and will inevitably deviate from the true dialectic identity.

III. Is There Indivisibility of the Opposites of Contradictions?

According to dialectics, any object is one dividing into two. Precisely because an object always contains contradictions, it is divisible. The opposites of a contradiction are mutually united and connected, while also mutually repellent and conflicting. Insofar as they are mutually unified and connected, there is an indivisible link between them, an indivisibility; insofar as they are mutually repellent and conflicting, there is a divisibility between them. The phrase "both opposite and complementary" precisely denotes such duality. However, we must clearly realize that the unity, the inseparable connection, and the indivisibility of opposites are conditional, temporary, and relative, while their conflict and divisibility are unconditional and absolute. Both Engels and Lenin expounded the indivisibility and divisibility of substances and objects and their dialectic relationship.

Comrade Yang Xianzhen said: "The unity of opposites is (author: Sometimes he used the words "is only") their indivisibility, the connection of the indivisible things of the opposites.... The meaning of the unity of opposites and the unity of contradictions is that the two opposites are inseparably linked." It must be affirmed that Comrade Yang Xianzhen's view that the identity of contradictions has the

essence of indivisibility and inseparable connection in accordance with the thinking of Engels and Lenin has an important positive and guiding significance in adhering to the viewpoint of connections and to looking at issues comprehensively in the practical work of the socialist revolution and construction. Comrade Mao Zedong once pointed out: "One-sidedness and superficiality are also subjectivity. As all objective things are mutually linked and possess their internal laws, if we do not truly reflect such conditions but only regard them one-sidedly or superficially, if we do not understand the mutual connections of things or their internal laws, it is subjectivism." ("On Contradiction").

However, the problem is that, when Comrade Yang Xianzhen discussed the "two combining into one" viewpoint, mainly he only stressed the "connection" and "combining" of opposites and their indivisibility and inseparable connection. Though he sometimes mentioned the conflict of opposites, basically he did not discuss their mutual conflict or their divisibility. For instance, he said: "The unity of opposites means that the two are indivisible. If they are divisible, then they will not be opposites." He also felt that dividing them arbitrarily is "in violation of the essence of things." It is one-sided. By so doing, he absolutized the connection and indivisibility of opposites, thus making people overlook the divisibility of an object and the important effect of the conflict of opposites in its development. Engels said: "Based on the results of our past experiments in the natural sciences, dialectics has proved: All polarized opposition is determined by the mutual effect of the opposing poles. The separation and opposition of the two poles only exist in their interdependence and mutual connection. On the other hand, their mutual connection only exists in their separation and their interdependence only in their mutual opposition." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3 p 494). Here, Engels explained scientifically the dialectic relationship of unity of conflict, and connection and separation, between the opposites. Even when Engels emphasized the indivisibility of opposites, he did not forget their opposing conflict and divisibility. He said, for instance: "When making a relatively accurate observation, we will also discover that the two poles of a certain opposition, like the positive and the negative, are not divisible. Precisely like their mutual opposition, and no matter how they oppose each other, they will always mutually permeate each other." (Ibid., Vol 3 p 62).

Let us see how Comrade Mao Zedong dialectically expounded the divisibility and indivisibility of contradictory entities. He pointed out: "All contradictory sides, due to certain conditions, possess differences; therefore, they are called contradictions. Yet, they also possess identities; therefore, they are mutually linked." ("On

Contradiction"). "In the human society and in nature, an entity will always resolve into different parts, except that, under different concrete conditions, the contents and forms are different." ("Talk at the National Propaganda Work Conference of the CCP"). He told us in "On Contradiction" that the relatively static state of quantitative change of an object and the obviously changing state of its qualitative change are both caused by the conflict of a contradiction. When an object is in a state of quantitative change, the connection (identity) of opposites possesses an indivisible essence, because they are interdependent. By the stage of its qualitative change, the former state of unity (the state of indivisibility of the opposites) "breaks up," and the former contradictory entity "resolves" and enters into another state of contradictory unity. Yet Comrade Yang Xianzhen often bypassed the mutually repellent conflict of the opposites and their divisibility, and only vigorously discussed their unity and indivisibility in a one-sided manner, making it hard to avoid regarding the unity of opposites as a solidified and rigid state and even negating the qualitative change and development of things.

IV. What Is the Goal of Studying Dialectics?

Comrade Yang Xianzhen's "two combining into one" viewpoint contains his own ideological logic. He emphasized that objective things are "two combining into one," that identity is "things in common," and that the unity of opposites is "indivisibility;" therefore, the inevitable conclusion is that the goal of studying dialectics is only for upholding the idea of the "inseparable connection." He said: "If we can understand the unity of opposites, we will understand dialectics.... Studying dialectics is to learn the skill of linking two opposing ideas. In other words, we must master the law of the unity of opposites to perform our work; we must learn to walk on two legs. The unity of opposites is walking on two legs." True, the study of dialectics requires us to master the viewpoint of the materialist dialectic connection and to establish the comprehensive viewpoint. However, what do we want to solve once we have learned dialectics, and what do we want to accomplish? Comrade Yang Xianzhen did not clarify it. Nor is the phrase "to learn the skill of linking two opposing ideas" very accurate or scientific. Because according to this demand, it seems that once we have learned dialectics, we should "link" together Marxism and revisionism, revolution and counterrevolution, communism and individualism, and truth and error, combining them into one, coexisting peacefully. In addition, the demand of "walking on two legs" calls for the common development of the positive effect of the two opposite aspects of contradictions, for only then will the law of the unity of opposites be considered as mastered. Obviously, this is wrong, and the goal of our study cannot be explained thus. The demand of "walking on two legs" is not applicable

to the handling of all contradictions. It is applicable when handling the contradictions between industry and agriculture, between red and expert, and between democracy and centralization. But when it comes to the contradictions between revolution and counterrevolution, Marxism and revisionism, and truth and error, it is obviously not applicable, because the handling of such contradictions requires one side to overcome the other, not mutually promoting or jointly developing.

What is the goal of studying the dialectics of "one dividing into two"? Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out clearly: "This dialectic cosmology mainly is to teach us to observe and analyze the contradictory movements of all kinds of things and point out the method of solving the contradictions according to our analyses." He also said: "The task of the communists is to expose the erroneous ideologies of the reactionaries and metaphysicians, spread the original dialectics of things, promote their conversion, and attain the revolutionary goal." ("On Contradiction"). Thus, his teaching tells us clearly that the contradictions of things will always convert, and the fundamental goal of studying the dialectics of "one dividing into two" is absolutely not for harmonizing the contradictions, forever preserving the state of unity of the old things, but to be skillful in analyzing and understanding the contradictions of objective things, find the correct methods to promote their conversion and solution, effect revolutionary transformations, and promote the development of things. Only thus will we attain the revolutionary goal.

Moreover, Comrade Yang Xianzhen's view on such issues as the core of dialectics and the conversion of contradictions also have their differences from the dialectic viewpoint of "one dividing into two." For instance, at times he said in his lectures: "What Lenin discussed was the unity and conflict of opposites, and unity is the core of dialectics. Meanwhile, Stalin only discussed the conflict of opposites and not their unity." Obviously, this is a one-sided interpretation of Lenin's view of the "the unity of opposites" as the core of dialectics by stressing only the identity of opposites. Actually, what Lenin meant was that the entire law of the unity of opposites is the core of dialectics. Comrade Yang Xianzhen also stated firmly: "If we say that truth changes into error, and error into truth, it will become relativism, and there will be no truth.... Truth which has truly undergone the test of practice will not change into error, and nor will error which has truly undergone the test of practice turn into truth. Only a truth considered such in the realm of understanding (actually an error) will turn into error, and only error considered such in the realm of understanding (actually a truth) will turn into a truth.... How can there be identity if we arbitrarily maintain that there is identity between idealism and materialism and that

they can mutually convert? And how can there be conversion? It is the theory of the harmony of idealism and materialism." Such views also have their differences from "one dividing into two" and require deliberation. According to the dialectic development view of "one dividing into two," truth and error, and materialism and idealism, under certain conditions, will convert. Marx and Engels were once young Hegelians and believed in idealism but later changed to dialectic materialists. Plekhanov was once a Marxist but later on turned into a revisionist and lapsed from materialism into idealism. Error is often the forerunner of accuracy. After committing errors and undergoing education, our cadres can become accurate. After making achievements and becoming conceited, a cadre may also change from accuracy to error. Obviously, the viewpoint negating the conversion of contradictions is metaphysical.

Naturally, in his theoretical work as a whole, Comrade Yang Xianzhen mainly and largely propagandized materialism and also some dialectics. The defects and errors on such issues as "two combining into one" are only partial problems in his theoretical work. However, we must realize that his viewpoint on "two combining into one" mainly stresses the identity of opposites and their indivisibility, and his understanding of identity is one-sided and somewhat erroneous; he did not pay serious attention to the conflict of opposites or discuss their divisibility. This fundamental thinking threads through his entire viewpoint of "two combining into one." We cannot deny that many things in his theory are partially dialectic and partially true. However, on certain fundamental issues, he lapses into metaphysics. Therefore, it must be pointed out that his "two combining into one" viewpoint has certain fundamental differences from "one dividing into two." Thus, that the issue of "two combining into one" attracts such a widespread attention is not incidental.

Then, will a scientific explanation of "two combining into one" make it possible for it to manifest the law of the unity of opposites? I feel that it is relatively difficult. The reason is that the phrase has great limitations. First, it is very difficult for it to express the contents of the contradiction and conflict. The central idea stressed by it is only the word "combine." What "combines" two things together? It seems to be an external force and not a force from within itself. Next, it cannot express qualitative change, conversion, and the tendency and future of development; what it tends to express is harmonizing of the contradiction, a permanent immutable tendency or state. Recently, in his article published in XUESHU YUEKAN, No 6, Comrade Lin Qingshan [2651 7230 1472] also said: "When I wrote about 'one dividing into two' and 'two combining into one,' I considered 'two combining into one' the law of the unity of opposites. But looking at it now, I find it not accurate enough, because

'two combining into one' only explains the unity in the opposites." This is reasonable. Without the conflict aspect in the opposites, progress is impossible. Therefore, I feel that we should not use "two combining into one" to express the law of the unity of opposites. On the other hand, "one dividing into two" does not have such drawbacks. It expresses both the unity and connection of contradictions, and their repellency and conflict. As the contradictions are both unified and conflicting, the phrase also embodies the qualitative change, conversion, and the tendency of development and progress. Therefore, we must firmly uphold the dialectics of "one dividing into two."

The important lessons of experience on philosophical issues occurring in the Soviet Union and our country must not be forgotten. After the victory of the October Revolution, Bukharin and Debolin's theory of equilibrium appeared in the Soviet Union. Debolin advocated "the reconciliation of opposites," lapsing into the menshevik idealist standpoint and politically sinking into the theory of the harmony of interests of the bourgeoisie and proletariat. Stalin led the philosophical world of the Soviet Union to criticize Bukharin and Debolin's philosophical thinking of the contradiction reconciliation theory. Stalin was doubtlessly a great Marxist, but he stressed one-sidedly "the conflict of opposites," and the error of the extensive purge of the counterrevolution had something to do with it. Subsequently, after usurping power, Khrushchev lavished praises on Debolin's philosophy, wantonly advocating, in philosophical theory, that the "unity" and "harmony" of opposites were the motive force of development, promoting, in politics, a revisionist line, and thus turning into social imperialism. In China, some people were wronged in the anti-rightist struggle of 1957 and the anti-rightwing tendency struggle of 1959, and some of our cadres had the tendency to stress only the "conflict of opposites." Comrade Yang Xianzhen realized this point. Subjectively he wanted to strengthen the spread of dialectics, yet he devoted himself to searching for terms and concepts from the ancients to stress the unity of opposites. Therefore, he propagandized the viewpoint of "two combining into one" while overlooking the conflict of opposites. Under the direction of the "theoretical authority," Guan Feng and others "criticized" the "two combining into one" viewpoint with an "ultra-leftwing" mind, fundamentally denying the "things in common" in the unity of opposites, fundamentally denying the "indivisibility" and "inseparable connection" of the opposites, and thereby denying the important effect of the unity of opposites in the development of things. The comrades (including myself) participating in the discussion of the issue of "two combining into one" at that time were more or less influenced by such "ultra-leftwing" thinking. Due to the influence of the articles of Guan Feng and others, the moment unity was mentioned, it became the theory of the compromise of

contradictions, and revisionism. The "theoretical authority" and those like Guan Feng hoisted the dialectic banner of "one dividing into two" in the "polemics," thereby distorting the dialectics of "one dividing into two," as if it stressed only conflict and ignored unity, and causing many people to misunderstand it. Around that time, Lin Biao, with an ulterior motive, intensified his propaganda of the "struggle philosophy:" "The philosophy of our Communist Party is dialectics; it is the conflict of opposites." The propaganda of Lin Biao and Guan Feng and others that "dialectics is the struggle of opposites" created the public opinion and provided the philosophical foundation for the "ultra-leftwing" revisionist line promoted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in the Great Cultural Revolution. Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" "confront and fight," "struggle, struggle, struggle," "knock down everything," "cruel struggle, ruthless attack," etc. were all closely linked with such philosophical thinking. Such profound lessons of experience discussed above should be properly summarized and memorized.

Today, we must restore and apply the ideological principle of the unity and connection of opposites, but we must not simply return to the "two combining into one" viewpoint nor negate the conflict of opposites. We must adhere to the materialist dialectic principle that "the contradictory opposites are both unified and conflicting, thereby promoting the motion and change of things." Currently, in our tasks in this aspect, we must negate the negative: First, we must treat "two combining into one" scientifically, affirming and assimilating its dialectic and rational parts or elements and firmly rejecting its metaphysical things. Next, we must thoroughly expose and criticize Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" and the "theoretical authority's" distortion and revision of "one dividing into two," conscientiously and accurately propagandize again the dialectic thinking in such works as "On Contradiction," correctly spread the dialectics of "one dividing into two," comprehensively explain its contents as a whole, and restore its true features, so that the broad cadres of our party and the masses will master it correctly and apply it concretely to the socialist modernization construction. The four modernizations involve an extensive and profound revolution, and we will inevitably encounter many complex new situations, new things, and new contradictions which will require our correct analysis, understanding, and solution. Raising high the great banner of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, conscientiously studying and adhering to materialist dialectics, integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought with the concrete practice of China's socialist modernization construction, and finding a Chinese way for such modernization construction constitute the guarantee of our success.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

TEACHERS SAY POLITICAL THEORY COURSES MUST BE STRENGTHENED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 18 Aug 79 p 1

[Article: "Courses in Political Theory Must Be Strengthened in Schools of Higher Learning. Teachers of Courses in Political Theory From Schools of Higher Education Throughout the Nation Convene in Shanghai for a Summer Study Meeting"]

[Text] The summer study meeting of teachers of political theory courses from the whole nation jointly held by the Ministry of Education and the Office of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee of Education and Health victoriously concluded on the afternoon of the 15th in Shanghai.

The leading comrades of the Political Theory and Education Department of the Ministry of Education, the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the CCP, the Shanghai Municipal Education and Health Office, the Shanghai Municipal Bureau of Schools of Higher Learning and each school of higher learning in Shanghai attended the closing. Li Zhengwen, Director of the Political Theory Department of the Ministry of Education, gave the summary speech. Xia Zhengnong, Secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the CCP, also spoke.

Over 400 teachers of courses in political theory came from 13 provinces and the People's Liberation Army Military Academies to participate in this study meeting held in Shanghai. The comrades who attended the meeting went a step further in conscientiously studying the spirit of the Third Plenary Session and the Second Session of the National People's Congress, discussed and took preliminary steps in the handling of the teaching outlines of the four newly organized political theory courses (the History of Chinese Communism, Political Economy, Marxist Philosophy and the History of International Communist Movements), listened to lectures on special subjects by experts and exchanged teaching experiences. The study meeting, following the spirit of the Third Plenary Session, set the basic foundation that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth. It also upheld the "double-hundred" policy, discussed many theoretical

problems regarding the teaching of courses in political theory and set right the unharmonious thoughts and unprogressiveness of the theories which were distorted by Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and the "theorists."

The comrades who attended the meeting and took part in study and discussion considered that the courses in political theory in the schools of higher learning could only strengthen and not weaken the important shifts in the work of the party and the great advancement toward the realization of the Four Modernizations. They considered wrong the basic theory that Marxism-Leninism was "unrelated" to vocational courses. No matter what vocation is studied, in all of them the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism should be studied. Marxist-Leninist theory is a required course in schools of higher learning. The meeting pointed out that school party committees should strengthen the leadership of teaching courses in political theory and give full attention to the work of teachers of courses in political theory. Teachers of courses in political theory should strengthen and achieve a sense of glory and responsibility for the work of teaching political theory and elevate confidence in that work.

The meeting also pointed out that to advance and accomplish political theory education those acting as political theory teachers needed to diligently study the spirit of the Party's Third Plenary Session, deeply investigate and research, and boldly search for the truth so as to further make new contributions to enhance the quality of the teaching of courses in political theory in schools of higher learning.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ENCOURAGING PROPER THOUGHT LINE IN YOUTH URGED

Shanghai ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 4 Aug 79 p 1

[Editorial: "Extend the Discussion of the Criterion of Truth to the Young People"]

[Text] Some good news comes from the countryside: the League members and young people of Huangbizhuang [7806 1084 8369] Commune in Dilu County [544] 7773], Hebei started a discussion of the sole criterion of testing truth linking the situation and questions there. Their discussions were lively and practical and also solved questions with very good results.

The discussion of the question of the criterion of truth has been going on in the country for over a year now. This is a great movement in the liberation of thinking and is an educational movement in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. This discussion has had an enormous influence, has promoted the forward progress of work and received high marks at the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the 11th CCP Congress at the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress. This discussion has also provoked widespread interest and attention among the broad masses of League member youth, and some local groups have organized energetically led study and discussion, but there are also many units which have not launched them conscientiously. Such good study and discussion as that of the Huangbizhuang Commune League organization is not often seen. Now we should quickly make up for this kind of class to extend the discussion of the criterion of truth to all levels of the League organization, extend it to the broad masses of youth so that the League members and young people can receive universal education in the Marxist line.

What kind of thought line it is depends on whether or not our young people can give full play to their role as spearhead, whether or not they can shoulder the glorious mission of realizing the Four Modernizations. In the 2 years and some since the smashing of the "gang of four," the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng has led the nation's people to do many things which have radically changed the course of events: we have pulled down from positions of leadership the "gang of four" and

their followers who wanted to usurp party power, and bring calamity to the country and people, and have eliminated them. On a large scale we have redressed unjust, false and misjudged cases, implemented policies and clarified a great many rights and wrongs. We rapidly turned around the economic situation and expanded industrial and agricultural production. We also carried out successfully a self-defense counterattack against the Vietnamese. Our great socialist undertaking is rapidly developing and our beloved motherland is vigorous. How should we look on the present situation? How should we understand the party and government policies at present? How should we distinguish erroneous ideological tides? How can we uphold correctly the four basic principles? This concerns a basic point in recognizing things, i.e., the criterion of testing truth. The League members and young people of Huangbizhuang said it well: In discriminating right and wrong the fact of whether or not something has been criticized cannot be used as a criterion. But we should use the fact that the test of practice determines whether or not something is correct or whether or not it is beneficial to the development of production, as a criterion. Only with a correct line can our young people have the courage to search, dare to create and in practice enhance their abilities and eliminate the disruption of mistaken ideological trends and develop into a hopeful and capable new generation.

A proper thought line is a basic condition for doing youth work well at present, and an important task for League cadre study. After the party work emphasis shifts, how the Communist Youth League adapts to new historical conditions, studies new conditions and solves new problems is a very complex mission. Our youth work has very good traditions. Some must be continued and developed, and some things very familiar to us, such as "the main lessons of class struggle," cannot be used any more. This requires that we correct the thought line. Everything must start with actuality so that our own thought will adapt to the objective situation which has already developed. We cannot stick to conventions, be complacent and conservative and think that whatever isn't in the books we dare not do. Cadres at all League levels should raise their ideological understanding and comprehend profoundly the intimate relationship between discussion of the criterion of truth and doing youth work well. We should liberate thinking, face reality and seek in practice the rules for the maturation of this generation of young people, grasp the scientific method of youth work in this new era and begin League work vigorously.

The report of the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the CCP 11th Congress said: "One party, one nation, one people, if everything comes from books, if thinking is ossified, it cannot advance, its life is stopped and it will overcome the party and overcome the nation." In extending the discussion of the criterion of truth to young people, first of all it is necessary to explain the profound significance of this discussion. In study and discussion, fully develop democracy, create an atmosphere and environment which lets young people dare to reflect and express their opinions fully. As far as different opinions are concerned,

even if they are incorrect they should be permitted expression and mutual exploration and collective improvement, and cannot be labeled, picked on or bludgeoned. Have faith that through comparison and exploration of different opinions young people can reach correct conclusions and achieve the aim of raising their thinking.

The ideological line of Marxism will soon be grasped by the masses and will produce an inexhaustible material strength. We believe that the active development of the discussion of the question of the criterion of truth will certainly help the broad League cadres and member youth correct the thought line and raise their consciousness. The power of thought liberation will of necessity cause an extraordinary expansion in Communist Youth League work and the emergence of an even more vigorous appearance, stimulating greater light and warmth of young people to shine into Four Modernizations construction.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

REASONS FOR CONTROLLING POPULATION GROWTH OUTLINED

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 14 Aug 79 p 3

[Article by Liu Zheng [0491 6927] and Wu Cangping [6762 3318 5493] of the Institute of Population Theories of the China People's University: "A Discussion With Youth On Population. Why Do We Want To Plan Childbirth and Control Population Growth? What Relation Does It Have To Employment, Receiving An Education, Raising the Standard of Living and Realizing the Four Modernizations?"]

[Text] After liberation, the party and the government gave great consideration to the people's health and especially to the growth of youth. Because of the vast improvements in the lives of the working people and the rapid development of medicine and public health there was a very broad decline in the death rate of the population. The pre-liberation rate of 2.8 percent has declined to the present rate of 0.6 percent or 0.7 percent which ranks as one of the lowest in the world. The life spans of urban and rural people have been greatly lengthened and the child mortality rate has also been greatly reduced. However, the birth rate in the 20 years after liberation has not declined and each year has had an average growth of 2 percent. At present, the Chinese population has already increased from the post-liberation figure of over 500 million to over 970 million (including Taiwan). In a large nation like ours where we are trying to realize the Four Modernizations, one cannot but meet the contradiction of a large population which is growing quickly and a poor foundation and economic backwardness. These contradictions are manifested the most by the concerns of our youth in the problems of employment, receiving an education, housing and raising the standard of living. Comrade Hua Guofeng at the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress stressed the "bettering of the work of planned childbirth and the feasible control of population growth" as one of the ten tasks that should be grasped well. This clarifies the extreme seriousness of the party and government concerning the problem of China's population.

Anarchism in Childbirth Influences Employment

Under a socialist system, all people have the right to work. However, under the present conditions in China in which the population has increased quickly,

the fact that the number of working age people is great and the capabilities of arrangements for employment are limited is a critical contradiction. Each year there are several million youths in the cities and towns who require arrangements for employment. Even though each kind of organization takes every means possible to allow them to work yet there are still some who are not able to be immediately placed or who do not want to go to the mountains or countryside. This is because under the conditions of modern production technology, those who want to participate in production should have a proper amount of the means of production. For the nation to absorb youths to participate in the work, we must develop the enterprises of industry, communications transportation, post and telegraph service, commerce and services for which a large capital investment is necessary. According to estimates, based on the level of technical installations of present industries in China, with the increase of each worker a fixed capital increase of 10,000 RMB is needed. Because of China's weak foundation and the back weakness of the economy, the capital available in this sphere is limited. In the rural areas, the agricultural work force has increased from 200 million in the 1950's to the present 300 million and cultivated land has decreased from 1.6 billion mu in the early period after liberation to less than 1.5 billion mu. The contradiction of too many people and too little land is prominent. Even though there are large areas of grasslands, mountain forests and water regions which require a considerable amount of labor, yet generally speaking, the existing agricultural work force is already sufficient in itself to meet the needs of agricultural production. At present, each year the work force in the rural areas increases by over 10 million and although unlike the employment problems which are directly manifested in the cities, the arrangement of working force in practice is not easy. It indirectly shows a decrease in labor productivity. If we strenuously control the population growth and hereafter cause a smaller growth in population, then in any given future year the population entering the labor age will also be less. Thus we will be able to greatly alleviate the contradiction of labor employment.

The Pressure of a Drastic Increase in Population on Educational Work is Tremendous

Raising the scientific and cultural level of the entire Chinese people is an important condition for realizing the Four Modernizations. For this reason, we want to universalize elementary and middle school education, and vigorously develop higher education and vocational education. Rapid increases in population puts tremendous pressure on China's educational work. According to the present educational system, elementary and middle school education generally includes a youth population from ten age groups and in China the number from this group is calculated to be 100 million. If this many people are to receive an education, then the nation must put forth a suitable expenditure which again encounters the limitation of China's weak foundation. According to statistics, for the state to train one university student it is necessary to spend about 6,000 RMB. Under the conditions of limited expenditures for education in the nation, we must first universalize elementary and middle school education which will influence the development of higher education and vocational education. It is

obvious that if population growth is controlled there will necessarily be more people receiving better education which will benefit the development of youth, be beneficial in raising the scientific and cultural levels of the entire Chinese people and promote the realization of the Four Modernizations.

Relationship Between Population Growth and Improvement of Living Standard

The gradual raising of the people's standard of living on the basis of development of production is the requirement of the basic economic law of socialism and the fervent hope of our vast people. Since liberation, following the development of China's production, as compared to pre-liberation, the standard of living of the vast number of working people has been greatly enhanced. This is generally known. However, the consumption by our people is very low. As to our country's present conditions, the key to improving the life of the people is to increase agricultural production far in excess of population growth. However, because agriculture is restricted by the land and natural conditions, the speed of development is generally lower than that of industry. Given that our nation's agriculture is still mainly manual labor, the average growth of 4 or 5 percent each year in grain production is not considered to be slow. Yet because of our nation's fast population growth, the increase of grain obtained per capita in the last 20 odd years was not much. Other important agricultural products were not sufficient to meet the demand of the huge daily increased population. With agricultural production underdeveloped and the population in the cities and countryside growing quickly, the ability to supply the raw materials of agricultural products for industrial production is very limited. At the same time, for many years the proportion of light and heavy industries has been seriously imbalanced causing long-term underdevelopment in production in the light textile industries. Because of the increased population the need of daily necessities also increased with the result that many consumer products that are closely related to the people's lives such as sugar, cotton materials, knitted products, sewing machines, bicycles, paper etc. were in limited supply for a long period of time and the standard of consumers remained low. Besides this, the critical condition of housing has become even more serious. Based on statistics of China's 190 cities, in the 20 years after liberation many new houses were built and yet because of the rapid increase in population the per capita living area has actually decreased. This clarifies that if we want to raise the standard of living of all the people, in addition to first developing agriculture, light industry and services for daily life, we must also vigorously control population growth.

The Close Correlation of Planned Parenthood and Acceleration of the Four Modernizations

Some time ago, the building of our nation into a strong socialist nation of the Four Modernizations was the urgent hope of our nation's youth. Modernization demands the advancement of technological reforms in each

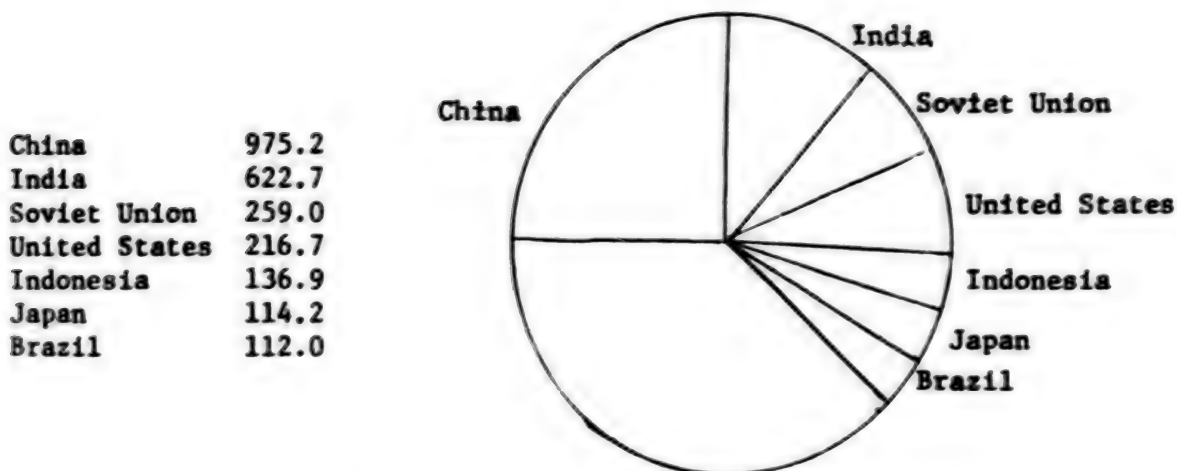
sector of the national economy and requires a large amount of construction capital. The construction of schools, houses, hospitals and living services facilities all require invested capital. Then, where does this capital come from? We can only depend on our own accumulations, in other words we derive the surplus after the total national expenditure is deducted from the annual gross national product. To increase accumulation we must develop production and rigorously enforce frugality. Yet this is not sufficient, for everyone knows that under the same labor productivity, the greater responsibility a society has to take care of its population, the greater its use in the consumer products and the less the accumulation. In our nation because the greater part of the population is engaged in agriculture, and this agriculture chiefly uses manual labor, therefore the labor productivity is very low and the level of accumulation cannot be very high. Moreover, China's population is very large. After liberation, the birth rate has increased and in this way the very large capital sum that could have been used in productive accumulation and non-productive accumulation was greatly wasted, spent by over-population. Based on a rough evaluation of the standard of living in China now, to raise a child to 16 years of age costs 1,600 RMB in the rural areas, 4,800 RMB in middle and small cities and towns, and 6,900 RMB in large cities. This occupies about 30 percent of the expenses of Chinese families and collectives. According to these calculations, the expense of raising youth after liberation occupied about one-half of the national reserve fund expenditure. Because of this, we can see that to continue childbirth blindly is actually equivalent to delaying the progress of the realization of our nation's modernization and slowing down the speed of raising the people's standard of living.

Now the responsibility of controlling the growth of our nation's population has historically fallen on our youth because the youth are the essential proliferators of China's future population. Because of the vast number of youth, we must fully recognize the important significance of implementing planned parenthood and controlling population growth by consciously maintaining late marriages, late births, few births and the best is to only give birth to one child. To carry out the model of late marriages and few births is an even better contribution of one's own youth for the realization of the Four Modernizations in the Motherland.

A Look Through Figures at the Significance of Controlling Population Growth

China's Population Occupies About One-Quarter of the World Population

In 1977, the world population reached 4.083 billion. The nations with populations over 100 million are [figures in millions]:



(Note: the figure for China's population is a 1978 statistic)

How Much Has Our Nation's Population Grown Since Liberation?

After the establishment of the New China at the end of 1949, the national population was 548,770,000 (not including Hong Kong, Macao and overseas Chinese). At the end of 1978, the population increased to 975,230,000, the net increase in population in 29 years (426,460,000) equaling the total population of the United States, Canada, West Germany, England and France (according to statistics, in 1977 the total population of these five nations was over 410,000,000). After liberation, the number of births was even greater than the net increase in population and based on statistics the number of people born after liberation was about 600 million. Today, among a population of more than 900 million, over 60 percent were born after liberation and those under 21 occupy one-half of the national population.

6 Years Are Equivalent to 109 Years

Because of the interference and damage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" an anarchistic condition of childbirth was created wherein China's population, between 1966 and 1971, increased by over 122 million which is greater than the approximate population of present day Japan (114 million). This is equal to China's population growth in the 109 years from the Opium War to the establishment of the New China (1840-1949).

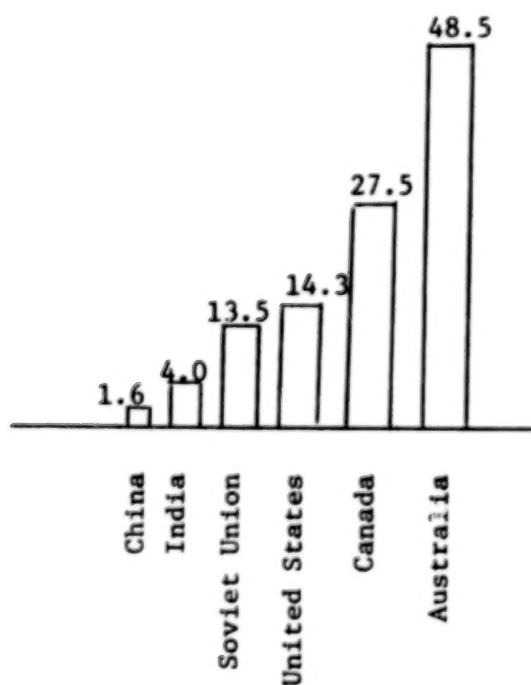
Natural Growth Rate Is Greatly Higher Than North America and Western Europe

From directly after liberation to the 1970's, before the vigorous control of population, China's natural average annual growth rate was 2.2 percent and there were some years it was over 2.5 percent. This is much higher than that of Europe, North America and Japan. In 1977, the natural growth rate in the United States was only 0.6 percent, in France only 0.3 percent and the population of England neither increased nor decreased. The populations of East Germany and West Germany actually declined.

How Did This Kind of Abnormal Change Come About?

In 1950 the average per capita consumption of grain in China was 478 jin which is only 23.9 percent that of the United States and 59.1 percent that of France. In 1976, after 26 years, China's grain production grew by 117 percent, that of the United States grew by 94 percent and that of France by 98 percent. However, China's average per capita consumption of grain greatly differed from that of the other countries: until 1976 China's per capita consumption of grain was 614 jin which is only 22.3 percent of that in the United States and 48.6 percent of that in France. The reason for this kind of abnormal change is due to population: in these 26 years, China's population increased by 69 percent, that of the United States increased by 41 percent and that of France by 27 percent.

A Comparison of the Average Area of Cultivated Land (in mu) Per Capita in China and 5 Other Nations in 1977:



Why Is It Best To Have Only One Child?

From now on in China, each year about 10 million young men and women will enter marriageable age. If the birth level remains the same as the present until the end of the century the national population will be 1.3 billion. If each pair of parents has only two children, in one year 20 million people

will be born and deducting the 6 or 7 million natural deaths, at the end of this century the population will still exceed 1.2 billion. If the population growth rate declines to about 0.5 percent that year, the net population increase will then be able to drop to about 5 million. This then requires parents of child bearing age to have only one child.

Control and Non-Control Are Very Different

After 1971, under the care and leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong, Comrade Zhou Enlai and Comrade Hua Guofeng everyone paid close attention to planning child birth and with the reduction of interference from the "gang of four," the natural population growth rate dropped by one-half in several years. It dropped from 2.34 percent in 1971 to 1.205 percent in 1978. This experience clarifies that the control and non-control of population are very different.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

PRC HAS 9 MILLION TEACHERS--Beijing, 14 Sep--A reporter of this paper has received information from the Ministry of Education that since its founding 30 years ago, the People's Republic of China has trained nearly 9 million teachers. According to statistics, of the 9 million teachers, some 206,000 are teachers at the university level; 99,000 at the technical schools level; 3,182,000 at the middle schools level; and 5,226,000 at the primary schools level. And of the more than 200,000 who teach at the university level, more than 2,700 are professors; 5,400 are assistant professors; and 112,700 are teaching assistants. [Text] [Beijing ZHONGGUO XINWEN in Chinese 15 Sep 79]

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